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EDITORIAL

THE CURRENT NUMBER OF THE REVIEW IS A SPECIAL MEMORIAL NUMBER DEVOTED to two outstanding Mennonite historians of Germany, Christian Hege (1869-1943) of Frankfurt a.M. and Christian Neff (1863-1946) of Weierhof in the Palatinate. Christian Neff, pastor and elder of a village church, was the chief spiritual leader of German Mennonitism for most of the first half of the twentieth century and became a figure in world Mennonitism as well through his leadership in the first decade of the Mennonite World Conference movement. Christian Hege, a layman, who was by profession the financial editor of a leading newspaper in West Germany's financial center, was at heart really a historian whose life was dedicated to the scholarly exposition and in a real sense defense of the history and faith of the Anabaptist-Mennonite brotherhood.

The tribute which the REVIEW pays to these two patriarchs and scholars is primarily a tribute to their creative scholarship in the field of Anabaptist-Mennonite history. Dr. Ernst Crous, the successor to Christian Hege in the editorship of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* and in the leadership of the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, contributes in his own thorough way the comprehensive biographical and bibliographical report on both men as historians which is contained in the first article. Dr. Ernst Correll, an intimate friend of the Hege family from his youth, has written the In Memoriam for Christian Hege and his wife Christine Fellmann. His tribute is a portrait, etched in loving detail and with spiritual interpretation. In the Research Notes Dr. Correll reports exhaustively on the work done in the Hege family genealogy, both in Europe and America, with many a sidelight on the contribution of genealogical study to historical understandings.

THE BRIEF BUT INTERESTING DISCUSSION ON THE CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC AND Anabaptist Origins, by Leonard Verduin, raises stimulating questions about the background of the Anabaptist movement in the Low Countries.

THE RESEARCH NOTE ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MENNONITISCHES LEXIKON in North America, and the review of Volume III and the first installment of Volume IV of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* are appropriate in a number which memorializes the founders and first editors of the *Lexikon.*

THE ARTICLE ON THE ANABAPTISTS IN SCHLEIDEN WHICH GIVES IN SOME DETAIL an account of the Anabaptist movement on the western fringe of the Middle-Lower Rhine section of Germany, is also appropriate in the current issue of the REVIEW as coming from Dr. Ernst Crous, the editor of the Lexikon during the dozen years required to finish Volume III following the death of the first editors.

SILAS HERTZLER'S VALUABLE REPORT ON "ATTENDANCE AT MENNONITE COLLEGES" appears again, for the year 1958-59, but reveals no new trend.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

CHRISTIAN HEGE AND CHRISTIAN NEFF AS HISTORIANS

Ernst Crous*

I. Beginnings: 1863 and 1869–1892

Christian Neff was born on February 18, 1863, a younger son of Peter Neff (1824-1905) and Barbara Stauffer, *nee* Schowalter (b. 1825), at Hemshof which is today a part of Ludwigshafen am Rhein. His father was the chairman of the Mennonite congregation of Ludwigshafen-Friesenheim, whose grandfather was preacher of the Erpolzheim-Friedelsheim congregation. He received his education in Ludwigshafen, in the Weierhof school, then again in Ludwigshafen, and finally in the Gymnasium of Landau and Speyer, from which he was graduated in 1883.

> How I now wanted to study history at the university. But that was too risky. . . . My father was not willing to pay the high costs of study, although it would have been easy for him to do. So I decided to study theology.

He began and ended his university study in the University of Erlangen, the Protestant university of Bavaria, to which the Palatinate belonged, spending an intermediate year of study each in Berlin and Tübingen. In Berlin he was attracted not only to theology and the economist Adolf Wagner, but, above all, to history.

> With enthusiasm I attended the lectures of Professor Treitschke on German History. . . . Once it was my privilege to hear Prince Bismarck in the Reichstag—an important historical event in my life.

At the end of 1887 he took up his call as preacher in the Weierhof Mennonite congregation, where he served for sixty years.

* Ernst Crous, formerly Bibliotheksrat in the Prussian State Library in Berlin and then director of the Mennonitische Forschungsstelle in Göttingen, Germany, is now in semi-retirement at Crefeld, Germany.

The topics which were of inner concern to him found expression in his first literary productions: church discipline, missions, statistics. History also found expression in the *Gemeindekalender,* in which he published many articles, even though at first he was somewhat reluctant to do so. Here his first biographies appeared, one on Georg Wagner, the martyr of 1527, another on the pedagog Amos Comenius, one on Abraham Risser (1827-1892), a representative of Palatinate Mennonitism, "the simple farmer." Early he also encountered history on his journeys. As a student he had visited his relatives in Galicia, and as a young preacher he traveled to Münster and Hamburg in order to meet Ludwig Keller, whose name was at that time well known, and the leading Mennonites of his time, B. C. Roosen, Heinrich van der Smissen, and H. G. Mannhardt.

Christian Hege, the son of Daniel Hege (1836-1900) and Magdalena Schmutz (1838-1875), was born on December 20, 1869, at Bonfeld in Württemberg, at the edge of the Kraichgau. His mother's half-brother was Christian Schmutz (1799-1873), elder of the Rappenau Mennonite congregation, one of the leading members of the Baden Gemeindeverband in his time. His paternal grandfather, Ulrich Hege (1808-1872), and four of his father's brothers and three brothers-in-law were elders in the Gemeindeverband. His father, Daniel Hege, was a farmer, successively in Baden, Württemberg, and finally Bavaria, until 1880, when he adopted a business career as real estate dealer in Munich. In this capacity he persuaded many relatives from Baden to take up farms in Upper Bavaria, and he opened his own home for preaching services. From 1892 on there was a Mennonite congregation in Munich, which at once joined the Vereinigung der Mennonitengemeinden im Deutschen Reich. The blindness which struck him in 1892 he bore with patience and resignation. The son Christian attended the Munich Realgymnasium, and following that the University of Munich and the Technical University, the latter in the two semesters of 1890-1891. In the summer of 1891 he was an enthusiastic student in the courses on cultural and commercial history taught by Professor Felix Stieve, a pupil of C. A. Cornelius. Both Cornelius and Stieve had left the Roman Catholic Church as a result of the proclamation of the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope at the time of the Vatican Council in 1870. Stieve was Bismarck's herald in the South, as Treitschke was at the same time in the North.

As a young Mennonite student, Hege was impressed above all by what his professor reported about the Anabaptists and the Mennonites. Here are some of his notes.

> As a result of the necessity of calling upon the help of the state for the discipline of the Church and also as a result of the theological position adopted by Luther which was further developed in the course of his struggles on behalf of his teaching, the new Protestant churches became compulsory institutions bound to dogmatic theological positions. As a consequence of this development, those persons who were most deeply moved by religious feelings turned away from the Reformation of Luther. They turned to the so-called Schwärmer, as Luther designated them, to the Schwenckfelders, to the supporters of Thomas Müntzer, and above all to the Anabaptists. Among the latter we meet personalities who attempted to realize what Luther had intended, namely a free inner fulfillment according to the principles of a Christianity without hierarchy and without a theological system.

On the Mennonites he said:

> Separated from the general population, without a hierarchical church organization, they devoted themselves in industrious activity to their moral tasks and distinguished themselves by their excellent behavior and by their competence.

These lecture notes appear in Hege's first literary production (1891), which he published in the *Gemeindeblatt* under the heading "Judgment of a professor about the Mennonites." While he was still in Munich he wrote another article for the *Gemeindeblatt* (1892) on a question which was then acute for his brotherhood, "Why Are Our Congregations Constantly Declining in Membership?" It was probably due to his father's blindness that young Hege had to break off his studies and turn to a practical occupation which would enable him to be self-supporting. In 1893 he went to Frankfurt on the Main, again a metropolis, where he remained for fifty years, while Neff stayed in the country. He joined the staff of the *Frankfurter Nachrichten,* the oldest local newspaper, and from 1903 on he was the editor of the newly established commerce department of the paper, which position he held until 1933.

But in his new occupation Hege did not forget the Mennonites. Time and again he wrote articles for the *Gemeindeblatt* and the *Mennonitische Blätter* on acute current questions such as: "The Mennonites and the Preachers of Other Confessions" (1893), "Nonresistance at the Present Time" (1890), "Statistics of the Mennonites in Bavaria" (1894). He wrote other articles out of his journalistic experience; e.g., "The Promotion of Home Missions through the Press" (1893), "Personal and Family News in our Mennonite Journals" (1894), "The *Gemeindeblatt* as a Sunday Magazine" (1895).

II. Progress: 1839-1908

Neff and Hege, both Mennonites of Swiss extraction, belonged to two different South German Mennonite groups, the one to the

group to the left and the other to the group to the right of the Rhine. As preacher and as journalist the two men followed different life paths, the one influenced by the Protestant Treitschke in the North and the other by the Old Catholic Stieve in the South; both were brought into contact with historical studies; but for both the pressing questions of their church lay upon their souls and urged them to action. How could they have avoided getting together? On February 8, 1893, an unusual conference was held in the Löwengarten in Ludwigshafen, called "a common conference of brethren from the Palatine congregations and from the Baden Verband." At this conference Neff and Hege met for the first time. Neff reports in his memorial article for his friend in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* in 1949: "Soon we were immersed in an intense conversation about the history of our brotherhood. So began the bond of common work which has continued for fifty years." But although they had found each other, for a time each went his separate way.

Hege, who published more and more of his articles in the *Mennonitische Blätter,* although he continued also to write for the *Gemeindeblatt,* kept pointing out from his location in the metropolis the important matters of the Mennonites in the Diaspora (1900), the internal migration of the German Mennonites (1907), the fellow believers in the cities (1896), the new city congregations in Berlin and Frankfurt (1897). The environmental aspects were also important for him: he wrote on Mennonites in the Prussian cities (1904), Baden Mennonites in South Bavaria (1905), Mennonites in the Kingdom of Saxony (1907, Mennonites in Canada (1908). He continued to express himself about the inner life of the congregations: "Contact between Preachers and Lay Members," and "Report on the Conclusions of the Meetings of the Elders" (both in 1896, the former in the *Mennonitische Blätter,* the latter in the *Gemeindeblatt),* "Revival of the Office of Deaconess in Our Congregations" (1908)," "Libraries in Our Congregations" (1905-1910). Above all he focused attention on the young men in the Diaspora (1903). From 1899 on he was the chairman of the "Soldier Commission of the Conference of South German Mennonites."

> The South German Conference had established in 1899 a pastoral ministry for the Mennonites serving in the German Army as a special ministry under the name Soldier Commission, which devoted itself chiefly to serving the soldiers by means of religious pamphlets and mailing the denominational organs, and later in World War I by sending packages.

In 1908 there appeared a booklet called *Warnings and Suggestions for the Period of Military Service,* in which Christian Neff and

Heinrich van der Smissen were the chief contributors. A list of all Mennonite soldiers with their divisional location was published in the *Gemeindekalender* of 1910-1915 (for 1909-1914), until publication was stopped by the war. Further articles by Hege dealt with polemics against the Mennonites, such as the articles, "All Kinds of Attacks from Earlier and More Recent Times" (1907), and commendations such as "Our Share in the Development of the Modern Concept of Toleration" (1907). Hege also wrote a number of historical articles, as Neff also did, giving biographies of the sixteenth century, e.g., "Hans Raiffer" and "Idelette von Büren" (1908 and 1909).

Neff, who in addition to writing for the *Gemeindeblatt* and the *Mennonitische Blätter* constantly had to furnish material for the *Gemeindekalender,* naturally manifested a more theological concern in articles such as the following: "Matthew 1:25" (1897), "Biblical Criticism" (1908), a "Bible Conference in Heilbronn" (1909). Missions were frequently given attention: Pakanten and Muara Sipongi (1896), Java (1901), Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft (1901), Sumatra (1902), Java (1904), Missionary Klaassen (1908). Developments in the congregations were repeatedly made the topics for articles: A Conference on the Geisberg (1898), Lic. Haake (1898), Palatinate-Hesse Conference at Eppstein (1899), Jakob Ellenberger II (1901, 1902), Sunday in Langnau (1901), Conference in Ibersheim (1901), Address at Ludwigshafen on Philippians 3:12 (1904), Statistics of the Churches in Prussia (1904). He wrote the annual chronicle of the congregations for the *Gemeindekalender* in 1898-1928, and edited the yearbook of the South-German Conference from 1903 to 1920. The great task of editing the third edition of the Mennonite Hymnal (1910), which found such favorable reception, is impressive. Though Neff himself, because of his modesty, is not named anywhere in the book, it is quite evident in the many articles which he wrote during this period that he was the soul of the undertaking. In 1907-1910 the *Gemeindeblatt* published countless articles by him on questions concerning the hymnal. He wrote historical articles such as the biographies of Hubmaier (1898), Blaurock (1901), Leonhard Kaiser (1901), Hermann von Beckerath (1903), and Calvin (1910); also on the first settlement of Mennonites in America and their protest against slavery (1903), the Ibersheim Resolutions of 1803 and 1805 (1907), and an 1830 meeting on the Weierhof (1907). He published an article on the Mennonites in an historical journal (*Die Pfalz,* 1904).

A joint work by Hege and Neff of a unique character was their

investigation of the history of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites in the Kurpfalz.

In 1896 the Weierhof congregation petitioned the Vereinigung der Mennonitengemeinden im Deutschen Reich for a grant to enable research in the archives of the Palatinate; 300 Marks was granted. On April 15, 1898, Neff delivered an extensive report in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter.* The Board of directors of the Vereinigung recommended additional annual grants of 300 Marks for a further three year period, but for some reason this was not executed. In the report of the Vereinigung for 1899 the following appears:

> The archival research by Brother Neff has been completed to the extent that he has thoroughly compared the final transcriptions with the originals. Additional charges for this in the previous year were not submitted. But now the question arises what use we will make of the material gained from the archives and assembled by Brother Neff. Further negotiations in the board of directors are needed to settle this question.

But for some reason nothing further happened. Not until the Vereinigung report for 1915 was the matter mentioned again, namely that Neff was granted 100 Marks for research in the archives in Basel and for the transcription of archival materials. Neff himself reported only twice specifically in the *Gemeindekalender* (for 1906 and 1909) that he was using his archival studies as the basis for historical writings; namely, an account of a conversion in connection with Johannes Nafziger (eighteenth century) and an article on the burial of Mennonites in the Kurpfalz in the eighteenth century.

But now the collaboration of the two men finally began to be effective: In 1908 Christian Hege's book *Die Täufer in der Kurpfalz* appeared in Frankfurt. Its preface states:

> The following account is based upon the documents of the Karlsruhe General-Landesarchiv in addition to the printed works mentioned. . . . In the spring of 1898 Christian Neff, minister at Weierhof, searched the Karlsruhe Archives for documents on the Mennonites and the Anabaptists in the Kurpfalz in commission by the Vereinigung der Mennoniten-Gemeinden im Deutschen Reich. His notes, which he unselfishly turned over to me are the real source of my work. The rich material which he gathered with great diligence I have thoroughly exploited.
>
> It is a pleasant duty, in connection with the publication of this book, to thank him for his extraordinarily valuable services and for his challenging suggestions. I also owe thanks to the administration of the General-Landesarchiv for making the desired documents available, also thanks to the publication committee of the Vereinigung der Menoniten-Gemeinden im Deutschen Reich which granted a subsidy for the printing.

The picture is incomplete without mention of the work of Christian Hege's wife Christine *nee* Fellmann, *Kurze Geschichte der Men-*

noniten (Frankfurt, 1909). The publication committee of the Vereinigung (Mannhardt, Neff, and van der Smissen) had awarded to the manuscript submitted on August 1, 1907, the prize of a contest for such a work which had been announced in the summer of 1905. This volume has enjoyed two editions, the second at the beginning of the First World War.

III. At the Height: 1909-1924

In the proposals which Hege had intended for the meeting of the Vereinigung in Danzig in 1908, but which had been published in the *Mennonitische Blätter* for February 19, 1908, we read the following:

> Much more place should be given to the promotion of historical research. In the last three decades a series of monographs has been produced from within our circles. In the light of the interest which is today being devoted to our history by specialists, it is our duty to become more active in this field than has hitherto been the case. If the Vereinigung itself should not wish to accept this task in its scope of work, then I should like to propose that a special society for Mennonite history be founded which should have as its task the promotion of interest in our history and the collection of historical material and its use, which should enlist the co-operation of the academic circles of our brotherhood, give leads to the congregations regarding the setting up and maintenance of congregational chronicles, and combat the attacks of the opposition by the publication of archival proofs. . . . This could probably best be accomplished by the publication of a Yearbook of the Society for Mennonite History, the extent of which would depend upon the finances available. The historical society could also undertake other publications, should the publication committee of the Vereinigung prefer not to undertake these itself. . . .
>
> I find it a great deficiency that we have no reference work in which one may quickly orient himself on all kinds of questions about our brotherhood. I should therefore like to propose the publication of an encyclopedic dictionary. Since such a large work would require many years for production, one might begin with the publication of a small dictionary which would briefly deal with various questions, but always including reference to the sources. A book of perhaps 200 pages would be very useful and would surely find many purchasers, since the interest which is manifested through numerous inquiries which necessitate the assembly of such material is already evident before the publication of the book.

Now the two men set to work. On August 17, 1909, Hege wrote to Neff regarding the publication of the yearbook. A few days later, on August 20, 1909, he wrote him regarding the encyclopedic dictionary (*Lexikon*).

> It is now time that the work should be begun. I am of the opinion that the publication of such a reference work should present a thorough report on the available material, but in brief form, always referring to the sources. You can see my thinking on this point from

> the enclosed articles. Only in this way can we expect to find a broad distribution of the work. The publication of such material in Mennonite periodicals including the *Gemeindekalender* would not accomplish the purpose which we would have in a reference work. The material would be too scattered, and one would have to search long to find a particular item. As I see the matter today, some 5,000 articles would be needed. As we work on the material we should plan to make it available to the reader in a form which will make possible a rapid orientation. Now that we have both done some preliminary work in this field I should like to propose to you a joint execution of the plan.

And on August 25, 1909, Hege wrote:

> To my great delight I see from your letter of the 23d that you are agreed with my proposal and that you would like to begin at once with the work preliminary to the editing of the encyclopedia. I will now also devote myself more completely to the matter. Our first task, of course, will be to assemble and organize the material. In only a few cases will it be possible at the present time for us to write articles, since as we study we will constantly find new material that should be used. Nevertheless my desire is that the handbook with all its brevity should be so thorough in its presentation as to give dependable and rather exhaustive information about all questions.
>
> . . . In most of the congregations we will have to assemble the material by direct approach. However, I should like to propose that we wait to do this until we have made further progress in our preliminary work. Otherwise much of the data will be antiquated before the book is published, such as for instance the statistical data and the names of persons.
>
> I am quite agreed that you should attempt to secure the cooperation of the academic teachers whom you propose; their interest in our brotherhood will naturally be substantially increased thereby. I hope also that the North German preachers will be sympathetic to our undertaking. We must also seek to find various persons in America, Holland, and Russia who, even though they may not be ready to deliver completed articles, nevertheless may send us material out of which we can ourselves write the articles.

The two men threw themselves enthusiastically into the great work. Hege dropped all endeavors to influence the brotherhood through articles in the journals or to present cases of Mennonite history; from 1911 to 1924 he published nothing of this sort. He assumed the business side of the new work, the correspondence with the printer and binder, keeping a careful record of income and expenditures, and then also the correspondence with the collaborators and the exploitation of the rich material in the Frankfurt libraries. On October 15, 1911, he wrote to Neff:

> Since the work is to appear in installments we must avoid giving too much space to an article which appears in the first installment; for this installment, which is understood to be a sample installment, should appear in the most variegated form.

Among the German collaborators in the first installment appear H. van der Smissen, H. G. Mannhardt, Dr. Albert Krehbiel in Speyer, and Otto Hege, Christian's son. More than half of all the articles, a total of 133, were written by Hege, who wrote 43, and Neff, who wrote 35. The average length of the articles was one-third of a page. The largest were "Abendmahl" and "Abendmahlsfeier," 3 and 1½ pages, "Allgemeine Konferenz," 3¼ pages, and "Altmennoniten," 3 pages. Among Hege's articles the geographical and biographical articles were in the majority, 29 and 9, whereas among Neff's articles there were only eight geographical and biographical in addition to eight for ecclesiastical concepts and church groups. The installment opens with a longer article by Hege on Aachen and closes with a smaller one by him on Alwintz. The correspondence between the two editors shows clearly their close collaboration.

While Hege had time only for the *Lexikon* in addition to his own demanding occupation, Neff had many other interests. It was significant that in the fall of 1913, just after the appearance of the first installment, he spent almost two months in America with his wife in visiting Mennonites from Oklahoma to Niagara Falls, with particular attention to Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Kansas. He published an extensive report on the trip in the *Gemeindeblatt.* The purpose of his journey was to attend the first All-Mennonite Convention in Berne, Indiana, which was to be an occasion for bringing the various Mennonite groups closer together. As the only guest from Europe, he was invited to preach the opening sermon in German. His basic emphasis in the sermon was that Jesus Christ must be the origin of all union efforts and all strength. After his return home Neff published during 1913-1914 the three little pamphlets entitled "Schriften der Konferenz der Süddeutschen Mennoniten": *1. Was sind Mennoniten? 2. Die Mennoniten keine Wiedertäufer! 3. Die Mennoniten keine Baptisten oder Methodisten!* The initiative for these pamphlets came from Hege, who had sent the first of the pamphlets to Neff on December 15, 1912. In addition, in the period of 1913-1924, Neff produced some 132 articles for *Gemeindeblatt, Gemeindekalender,* and *Mennonitische Blätter.* More than half of these were Bible expositions arising from his preaching ministry. But history was not neglected on this account. In the *Gemeindekalender* he published a number of long essays, two of which, found in the *Kalender* for 1914, were "Johann Cornies" and "Pfarrer Schiller von Westheim and the Mennonites," and one in the *Kalender* for 1918 dealing with the history of the Palatinate-Hesse Conference. For 1921 he published "How One Traveled to

America 100 Years Ago," and for 1924 "A Petition of the Dutch Mennonites for Exemption from Military Service" (1799).

And yet Neff found time among his other duties to write numerous and large articles for the *Lexikon*. The following are the longest of the articles in Volume I: "Bern," "Bestrafung der Täufer," "Blaurock," a total of 35,000 words in the fourth and fifth installments in 1915-1916; "Butzer" and Capito," 14,000 words in the seventh installment in 1917; "Denk," 12,500 words in the ninth installment in 1921; "Eid" and "Emden," a total of 20,000 words in the twelfth installment in 1922. Hege's longest article for Volume I appeared in the ninth installment in 1921 with 7,000 words on "Deutsches Reich."

By this time the editors had discovered that the original limits were too confining. They had originally planned 30 installments in two volumes, but now decided they would need to have 45 in three. The reason for this was in part that at times material had to be repeated in new articles, since it had not been possible to plan in advance (as in the case of the later *Mennonite Encyclopedia)* a complete outline of the entire work. But also often supplementary material was discovered and had to be brought in under a new title. As an illustration it might be noted that Missions appeared under five articles in three different volumes: in I in 1913 by Neff on "Amerikanische Heidenmission" and H. Pauls on "Aerztliche Mission," in II in 1930 by Neff on "Heidenmission," and in III in 1939 by Neff on "Missionsfeste" and by Hege on "Missionsfelder." A survey of the entire work reveals how much preliminary work had been accomplished in smaller publications, especially by Neff. But a comparison of the articles "Blaurock" which appeared in the *Lexikon* in 1916 with the essay on Blaurock which was published in the *Gemeindekalender* in 1901, shows that Neff clearly distinguished between a popular account and a scholarly article.

It would be appropriate to repeat here the concluding editorial statement of Volume I which appeared on September 6, 1924:

> The completion of Volume I of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* was delayed much longer than we had expected. Unexpected difficulties arose. The World War with its sad consequences called into serious question everything which had been thoroughly prepared and had begun in such a promising way. So the obstacles seemed insurmountable. Isolation for years from the outside world, especially from those countries in which more than three fourths of all Mennonites lived, difficulties in securing paper for printing, which for a time stopped the printing altogether, partial loss of the working capital through inflation, loss of income when almost 1,000 subscribers in Russia were lost because of the destruction of the Mennonite colonies there, loss of the annual subvention from the Vereinigung der Mennoniten-

Gemeinden im Deutschen Reich, as well as one from the Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Church in consequence of the inflation of the German currency.

God's goodness, however, has helped us to overcome all the obstacles. Brotherly love did not abandon us. Faithful friends in America, Holland, Switzerland, and France have sent us contributions. These made it possible for us to continue the work at a slower pace. These contributors deserve the undying gratitude of our brotherhood, since the *Lexikon* serves the cause of the brotherhood.

A large number of loyal collaborators, among them outstanding scholars, have continued to support us faithfully. These we wish to thank here again for the unflagging support. They have delivered many interesting and valuable articles on topics which hitherto have been scarcely touched in historical literature and which will furnish scholars and researchers further stimulation.

Our enterprise has expanded more than we thought at the beginning. With confidence in God's help we shall continue what we have begun, in the hope that it may be a blessing to our brotherhood.

IV. The Second Volume of the Lexikon and the Geschichtsverein: 1925-1936

The new period is framed by the Mennonite World Conference in Basel (1925) and in Holland (1936), with the Danzig Conference of 1930 falling in the middle of the period. With these World Conferences, in a sense inaugurated by his visit at the All-Mennonite Convention in 1913, Neff continued to promote his vision of "contact with each other." For me it was especially significant to be able to attend this first step in world Mennonite fellowship in Basel in 1925, even sharing a room with Hege in the hotel Baseler Hof. Hege was glad for the opportunity to speak at the conference on behalf of the *Lexikon.* Of importance was also the *Gedenkschrift zum 400jährigen Jubiläum der Taufgesinnten,* which appeared in 1925, edited by Neff, and in which he published a lengthy article on Conrad Grebel, and Hege gave the first major impulse to the modern research on Pilgram Marpeck. He discovered in Zürich Marpeck's lost *Vermanunug,* which he edited for publication in the *Gedenkschrift.* He was responsible for the publication in 1929 of Marpeck's *Verantwortung,* which had been transcribed and edited by Johann Loserth under his commission. His last work in this field was the assembly of photocopies of the Hans Denk prints of 1525-27 in preparation for a new edition of Denk's works, later brought out by Walter Fellmann.

Meanwhile the work on the *Lexikon* continued. It would, however, have been brought to a halt after the inflation had it not been for the special help which the Vereinigung inaugurated in 1927-1929 with its "Jubiläumsdank für das Mennonitische Lexikon." On the

average one installment could be published annually, and in 1931 and 1935 actually two. Among the longer articles, Hege furnished "Hessen" and "Kurpfalz," while Neff furnished "Grebel," "Haetzer," and "Melchior Hofmann." A new and important collaborator now appeared in the person of Professor Johann Loserth of Graz, Austria, who published in Volume II the long articles on "Gütergemeinschaft" and "Moravia." The preface to this volume, which was really a conclusion which appeared in February 1937 when the volume was bound, reads as follows:

> We are still in the midst of the work for this extensive reference work, which has unexpectedly expanded. Due to the discovery of previously unknown and widely scattered sources the knowledge of the Mennonites and their forefathers, the Anabaptists, has been greatly extended. The publication of extensive sources has rendered exceptional service to the latest scientific research. We have to a large extent been able to exploit this research and to make the results available to broad circles, and through detailed research have cleared up many questions relating to the Mennonite Church in the past and present, and also have made possible a more just and truthful judgment and evaluation of Anabaptism and Mennonitism.
>
> In spite of great difficulties we have been able to continue the work. We therefore close Volume II with a sense of deep gratitude as we present it to the public.

Upon his retirement from his professional occupation in 1933, Hege was able to produce, in addition to his work for the *Lexikon,* a number of smaller scholarly productions. In 1937 with his work on the "Chronik der Familie Hege" he devoted himself to family history, which up to this point had not received much attention in the *Lexikon.* A further undertaking of great importance was his vigorous support of the *Täuferakten.* The report by Erich Goettner concerning the work of the Vereinigung in 1919-1932 includes the following comment on this point:

> An undertaking which is very important for the research in the history of our brotherhood was supported by the Vereinigung, in response to the proposal by Brother Christian Hege, by a subsidy of 200 Marks. This enterprise is the publication of the entire body of still unpublished documents of the Protestant movement of the sixteenth century by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, including the *Täuferakten.* A volume of documents on the Anabaptist movement in Württemberg has already been published, while other documents have been assembled or are ready for publication, such as the material on the Anabaptist movement in Alsace and Bavaria. May the Vereinigung execute the decision of the last board of directors meeting and the membership meeting to help according to its ability and to support this research work, as well as the work of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*

Neff meanwhile continued the course he had begun. As the number of Bible expositions which he published declined, the total

number of his publications decreased; but the number of his larger articles and essays grew. Noteworthy is his endeavor to acquaint the readers of the new journal *Mennonitische Jugendwarte* with Sattler, Manz, Blaurock, Hubmaier, Melchior Hofmann, Hans Denk, and finally Menno Simons. The *Gemeindekalender* published numerous articles from his pen on the new settlements in Mexico, Brazil, and Paraguay, and many articles dealing with the history of the Mennonites in the Palatinate, among them the lengthy article on Peter Weber (1930) as well as obituary articles on his fellow ministers S. Blickensdörfer, Th. Löwenberg, Heinrich van der Smissen, H. G. Mannhardt, Abraham Hirschler, and Mathias Pohl. When he published the *Mennonitisches Adressbuch* in 1936 in spite of lack of understanding by many Mennonites, even he did not realize what importance it would have after the flight of the refugees from the East in 1945, when it helped us in the West to determine who among the refugees really belonged to our West Prussian Mennonite congregations. My son Franz had assembled additional manuscript membership lists for certain congregations which did not appear in the *Adressbuch,* which he used for his statistical article "Mennonitenfamilien in Zahlen," which appeared in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* in 1940. Unfortunately the bombs which hit our home in Berlin in the attack on August 24, 1943, destroyed these manuscript lists.

As early as 1908-1909 Hege had called for a yearbook. On August 17, 1909, he wrote to Neff as follows:

> *Dear Brother Neff:*
>
> . . . I was made very happy by your communication that you intend to throw yourself with full force into historical work. I am fully agreed with you that it is high time that we should be more concerned about our history so that this valuable material may not remain hidden, but made available to those wider circles where there is so much bias by the opponents of our brotherhood.

But a quarter of a century was to pass by before the dream was realized. In 1932 Hege repeated in the *Mennonitische Blätter* his "proposal for the founding of a Mennonite historical society." On June 20th his proposal was submitted in full to the fifteenth regular meeting of the Vereinigung in Hamburg-Altona in the following words:

> A noteworthy proposal was made by Brother Hege in Frankfurt to the fifteenth general assembly with the suggestion that a Mennonite Historical Society (*Geschichtsverein*) should be founded in connection with the Vereinigung. The purpose of this society would be the promotion of further research in Mennonite history, and the publication of studies in this field, the gathering at a central location of all sorts of source materials on our brotherhood in the past and pres-

> ent, and the stimulation of the interest of the congregations in the history of Anabaptism and Mennonitism and work in this field. The meeting of the Vereinigung acted in favor of a united effort in the field of historical research and authorized the board of directors to take steps toward the founding of a Mennonite Historical Society and Archives. The board of directors for its part, at its meeting in Berlin April 22-24, 1933, took action establishing the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein and elected four members as an executive committee for the society.

The first meeting of the Historical Society was held on June 27, 1936, in Gronau, Westphalia. I was happy to be associated as vice-chairman with Neff as chairman, Hege as secretary, and Hendrick van Delden as treasurer in this society, even though I was only number 16 on the membership roll. Hege served until his death as editor of its publications *(Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* and the *Schriftenreihe).*

This is a good place to take note of the organization of the staff of the *Lexikon.* In Frankfort in the Hege home on Rothschildallee 33 the entire family shared in the work, hand in hand, with a common zeal. We should not forget the contribution of the young sons of the family, who were just emerging from adolescence and died before reaching full maturity.

On October 22, 1912, Hege wrote to Neff: "My children are still occupied in copying documents."

And on October 15, 1911, Hege had already written to Neff:

> In recent days I was unfortunately not able to do much for the *Lexikon.* To make up for this Otto used his vacation, which ends tomorrow, to assemble material on the martyrs of the sixteenth century. He has prepared a manuscript of 38 pages containing a list of over 1,000 martyrs, of whom about 700 are known by name.

Thus, numerous articles on the martyrs bear the signature "O.H.," i.e., Otto Hege, who lost his life in a boating accident in 1921.

On April 23, 1913, Hege again wrote to Neff:

> The entire family is gathered around me in the work. Even our little Walter is deeply concerned that the work progress. When he awoke the day before yesterday, his first question was whether Mamma had written the article for Papa which she had undertaken.

Unfortunately the child died soon thereafter.

And what the children heard at home, they zealously handed on outside the home. When the daughter's teacher in religion in the school described the origin of the Mennonites in the customary way, she brought to him for the next class the two books written by her parents, as well as a manuscript by her father; as a result her classmates took eager notice and the teacher corrected his statements.

In the little booklet *Rückblick auf 400 Jahre mennonitischer Geschichte* (Karlsruhe, 1935) we read the following:

> At the suggestion of the teacher of religion in the classes of the Unter- and Obersekunda of the Kaiser-Friedrichs-Gymnasium at Frankfurt on October 10 and 17, 1933, one of the pupils delivered for the enlightenment of his fellow students two addresses on Anabaptism in the Reformation period and the later Mennonites. These have already been published in the *Mennonitische Jugendwarte* in 1934 and also in an American periodical *Der Herold,* published in Newton, Kansas.

At the request of the Council of Elders of the Baden Verband, Hege supplemented these addresses prepared by his son Fritz and published them as the booklet called *Rückblick*. Fritz, whom I met in Berlin-Steglitz during the Christmas holidays in 1941-1942, fell in southern Russia in early 1942.

Father and Mother Hege were the shining example. Walter Fellmann describes the hospitable household as follows in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* of 1949:

> Everyone who came to this home was impressed by the remarkable work output of the head of the house, Christian Hege, who in addition to his professional editorial activity on the *Frankfurter Nachrichten* dedicated a full scholarly activity to Mennonite historical research. No one who was familiar with the household could overlook the credit due to the mother in the home, who with great care and unselfishness conducted the household so that the external and internal conditions for this achievement were made possible.

In a similar way, although somewhat different, we find great activity in the home of the preacher of the Weierhof congregation. Christian Neff became the true leader of the Mennonites in the Palatinate and Hesse, in a sense also for all South Germany. The hospitality of the Weierhof household engaged the entire family, and the head of the house was able to enlist the scholarly collaboration of his younger ministerial colleagues, who looked up to him as their teacher and leader. In the first volume of the *Lexikon* we meet Emil Händiges and Walter Fellmann, the latter of whom was frequently in the Hege home. In Volume II Erich Goettner, Otto Schowalter, and Gerhard Hein meet us, and in Volume III in addition Paul Schowalter. I myself came into the circle of collaborators in the third installment of the *Lexikon* in 1915 with the article "Baczko."

V. Conclusion: 1937-1943 (1946)

When Volume II of the *Lexikon* finally appeared in February 1937, Neff was 74 years old and Hege 67. Nevertheless they continued their labors, truly as long as "it was yet day." Six installments of the third volume appeared under their editorship: No. 31, June

1938; No. 32, October 1938; No. 33, June 1939; No. 34, April 1940; No. 35, May 1941; No. 36, September 1942. Among the lengthier articles we find Neff's "Menno Simons" (1938, 13 pages) and Hege's "Mandates" (1938, 6½ pages). Furthermore five annual volumes of the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* appeared as follows: November 1936, December 1937, December 1938, August 1939, and August 1940. Three publications appeared in the book series *(Schriftenreihe):* the *Festschrift* for Christian Neff (New Year 1938), a volume on the *Rhineland Mennonites* (June 1939), and one on the *West-Prussian Mennonites* (1940). The most productive year was 1938, followed by the declining years of 1939 and 1940. After that all literary production ceased because of the lack of paper.

Neff's thirty articles and essays during 1937-1942 are distributed about equally between *Gemeindeblatt, Jugendwarte,* and *Gemeindekalender,* although the *Mennonitische Blätter* also published several. While Neff seldom contributed to the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* which now devoted themselves heavily to family history, Hege wrote some fifteen articles in the years 1937-1940 which appeared almost exclusively in the *Geschichtsblätter* which he served as editor. In the *Schriftenreihe* Hege published in No. 1 "Heidelberg, Influences on the History of the Mennonites" and in No. 2 Neff published "The Relations between the Mennonite Churches of Crefeld and Those of the Palatinate." The articles for the *Geschichtsblätter* were mostly small. Among the longer ones might be noted the one by Neff on "Menno Simons" in the first volume, and by Hege "New Verdicts of the Historians" and "Zwingli's Elenchus," whereas in the second volume Hege published "The Oldest Writings of the Anabaptists," and in the third volume "Basic Facts Concerning the Mennonite Historical Society."

Upon government orders the *Jugendwarte* had to cease publication in 1939, the *Gemeindekalender* and the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* in 1940, the *Gemeindeblatt* and *Mennonitische Blätter* in 1941. Finally in 1942 only the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* remained, and its thirty-sixth installment had to be published in a very limited edition. The last article by Hege to be printed was "Obernessau," and the last by Neff "Obersülzen," which brought this installment to a close. What remained were provisional articles, unprinted, and largely not ready for the press.

We have seen the abundant work which Hege and Neff accomplished as historians in the long years of their life, to a large extent together. How much they have achieved for us! How much which is now familiar they first had to find. The question remains:

how is the particular character of each as a historian represented in these creations? How different the two were: Neff "weak in health," "had to take care of his physical strength throughout his life"; only in rigid self-discipline was he able to achieve the almost immeasurable quantity of his essays and articles. Mild in judgment, he sought out in a personality that which was important in life and work. Even in the great moment of his life when the theological faculty of the University of Zürich conferred upon him the honorary doctorate in theology in 1925, all he could say in his modesty about his own work was that he had endeavored conscientiously to fill a lack in the service of his brotherhood, a lack which had come to be more and more conspicuous. But the faculty of the University in the doctoral citation declared that he had pursued research in Anabaptist history with the greatest of zeal and had in many instances given outstanding presentations. And Professor Walther Köhler, the great church historian at the University of Heidelberg, had him come into his seminar in person to give his testimony on behalf of Mennonitism.

Hege, a full nature, was able to produce a mountain of work, in spite of a series of handicaps in his life. All the questions which were of concern to the Mennonitism of his time and of his country also concerned him: the decline in membership, the scattering of the members, and especially of the youth. He was concerned about the criticism and the appreciation of his brotherhood, and was a great apologist for the fathers. Walther Köhler, who survived him, wrote the following tribute to Hege in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* in 1944:

> With his death, a life found its end which had devoted itself with the utmost faithfulness entirely to the history of his brotherhood, the Mennonites; truly dedicated, for his rich work was borne by the sacred earnestness of a sense of duty to show the heritage of the fathers in the light of total historical truth. Something of this everyone experienced who came into contact with the simple, upright man. . . . Those who knew him will never forget the impressions left upon them by the tall figure of Christian Hege. Old Anabaptism of the Reformation lived on in him in its noblest expression.

In spite of all the differences between them, differences which extended their vision and promoted broader activity, the two men served in equal faithfulness the needs of the time and the conflicts of the past to the utmost of their strength for half a century. May their memory always be held in honor among us.

IN MEMORIAM

CHRISTIAN HEGE AND CHRISTINE FELLMANN HEGE

(1869-1943) (1871-1942)

ERNST CORRELL*

Introductory Note: Ernst Correll's tribute to the memory of Christian and Christine Hege, in accordance with their daughter Adele's wish, avoids the necrological style. It tries to retrace the spirit and life work of the Heges. Their unique achievements are seen as transcendental elements in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition. Adele Hege engaged in similar endeavors. One was a unique attempt to give an etymological as well as spiritual meaning to the Hege family name in her father's *Chronik der Familie Hege* (Frankfurt am Main, 1937). Ten years later, when the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein reconvened for the first time after the war, Adele was asked to provide "Gedenkworte" about her parents, particularly on her father's life and work. The *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* of 1949 contain beautifully reflective insights into the Hege home. A third contribution, prepared at the Mennonite Center, Thomashof in Karlsruhe-Land, has a broader base and wider challenge. Entitled "Entfaltung täuferischen Geistes im Leben mennonitischer Frauen," it was prepared for the Women's Sectional Meeting of the Sixth Mennonite World Conference of 1957 and was published in its *Proceedings* in 1958. Here she described several outstanding women, among them her mother Christine Fellmann Hege, and the enduring values of their literary achievements.

While preparing an economic history of the Swiss-Alsatian-Palatine group in the beginning 1920's, Correll had the privilege of close association with various Mennonite communities. In the sphere of their religious and economic outlook, which he wished to observe from a more than historical point of view, they provided him with memorable object lessons. Especially the Neffs in Palatinate Weierhof and the Heges in Frankfurt-am-Main became not only sources of information, but also of inspiration.

The supplementary section of this tribute in the form of Research Notes on the Bern-Aargau, etc., Hege history which appear in this same issue of the REVIEW was largely an unexpected by-product. While consulting the Library of Congress catalogue for verification of data on the Hege family history, the author discovered an amazing American Hegi-Hege-Hagey volume published as recently as 1951. Some thirty-five years ago, while serving on the Goshen College faculty and as Librarian of the Mennonite Historical Society, numerous persons asked him about family origins. Coupling this demand with his experience in tracing various levels of Mennonite economic attainments he developed a series of documented studies on "The Value of Family History for Mennonite History." The first of these appeared in the January 1928 issue of the REVIEW as a broad survey of the problem. Major illustrations were drawn at that time taken from Nafziger material of the eighteenth century and later. Queries on practically all the main places of Swiss origins have come to the author during the years. Dealing currently with implications of the Hege-Hagey story, there could hardly be a more convincing case than this one to prove the importance of family records in Anabaptist-Mennonite developments.

* Ernst Correll is Professor of Economic History in the Graduate School of the American University, Washington, D.C.

The supplement is submitted as an added tribute to Christian and Christine Hege, whose work has done so much to open channels of fruitful information. The notes and comments present a modest token of the gratitude which the author owes to the Heges, and to the Hageys as well. H.S.B.

The Anabaptist-Mennonite movement has been recorded, described, and interpreted through the centuries by scholars of a variety of backgrounds. Foremost in a widening range are those who, in the reality of realities, have been sharing the heartbeat of their brethren and sisters in the daily walk of their dedicated lives. The followers and defenders of their faith and practice of discipleship became the *dramatis personae* of the decisions and actions of their conscience. The gap between their view and that of the established order of church and state could not be bridged. Their position was one of "no compromise." Thus the movement rose and unfolded. The testimonies of the individual witnesses, the undiminished piety and devotion of consecrated small bands of often isolated families, were joined in conviction. They did not fail to stand up in conscientious objection to certain attitudes and elements in the world around them. They wrote their history as they rose and defended what they thought was their fullest Biblical justification. While these harassed minorities sought tolerance in many lands, only too often their history was written in their own distress, even their own blood. Within the historical writing in and of Anabaptism, profound documents were created; to wit, the *Gross-Geschichtsbuch* and the *Klein-Geschichtsbuch* in which the Hutterian brotherhood records its chronology, its teaching, and its practice in the Tyrol, Moravia, Hungary, Russia, the Dakotas, and Paraguay, from its beginning in the 1520's to the present; the historical data deposited in the *Auss Bundt: das ist etliche schöne Christenliche Lieder wie die in der gefängnuss zu Passau in dem Schloss von den Schweizer-Brüderen . . . hin und her gedichtet worden* (first 1564); Jeremias Mangold's *Warhaffter Bericht von den Brüdern im Schweitzerland, in dem Zürcher Gebeit, wegen der Trübsalen welche über sie ergangen seyn um des Evangeliums willen, von dem 1635sten bis in das 1645ste jahr;* Tieleman Jansz van Braght's *Bloedig Tooneel of Martelaersspiegel . . . der Weereloose Christenen* (1660); and such letters and testimonies as those of the devotional and epistolary volume called *Güldene Aepfell in Silbern Schalen* (1702).

These traditional sources, in ever-increasing measure, have been subjected to many facets of inquiry, sociological and otherwise. But before the modern studies were widely circulated, certain quasi-political interests of the German-speaking Mennonites made them

desire an equitable recognition of their confessional status by church and state. It is at that juncture that we find Christian and Christine Hege an active team explaining and defending their heritage in the shaft of light that shines forth from its ancient beginning. Neither academic nor literary ambitions motivated them. They were guided and inspired by what emanated from the traditions of the *Geschichtsbücher,* the *Ausbund,* and the *Märtyrerspiegel.*

The Heges were aware of the historical untruth of speculated assumptions that were still whispered around about the peculiarities of their "sect." They had become sensitive to the minor but at times painful experiences to which Mennonite children were still exposed, particularly where Mennonites were not understood by the run of the population. In Frankfurt, for instance, Mennonite parents and children were considered rather strangely aloof for not attending the churches, not sharing in the ordinary goings-on or sharing only half-heartedly. Mennonite youth got into difficult, though not exactly serious, situations where they attended religious instruction in the public schools under official Protestant pastor-teachers. The other children would consider themselves in the "right pew," and it was not uncommon that Mennonite children were made to feel queer. Such situations even arose in towns with Mennonite congregations of long standing. Frau Antje Brons impressively describes this for the early nineteenth century in her *Ursprung, Entwickelung und Schicksale der altevangelischen Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten* (Norden, 1884).

Social differentiations—not necessarily a result of the Mennonite desire to "withdraw"—were imposed even in the twentieth century by surviving elements of intolerance. Civic handicaps resulted, in part, from their objection to juridical oath-taking and to military service. Although European Mennonites no longer adhered fully to the principle of nonresistance, they still did not have undisputed civic rights or opportunities to serve, for instance, in certain professions, where official church association was a stipulated prerequisite.

We find the Heges in the 1890's under these circumstances concerned with ways to effect better understanding. The story of the Anabaptists and Mennonites, they felt, should be presented and referred to with an appealing respect. They desired to make available the very sources by which the faith and practice of their group could be illustrated and popularized even for the benefit of young Mennonite generations. Over and above that, the Heges enthusiastically joined those in and outside the Mennonite circle who called for an objective study of their beliefs and their way of life.

One of the major external reasons for the discriminations, still prevalent, was the legendary notions, if not purposeful distortions, of the history of the Reformation. A bit of pointed evidence in my collection is a small eight-page pamphlet entitled: *Die Mennoniten keine Wiedertäufer.* On the front page is a beautiful vignette of the open Bible drawn by my old friend, the Palatinate Mennonite artist Daniel Wohlgemuth, who gave the booklet to me in his studio on the Weierhof just about forty years ago. It is marked "Schriften der Konferenz der Süddeutschen Mennoniten, Nr. 2," issued at Ludwigshafen in 1914. In other words, four centuries after the initiation of their movement in Switzerland it was still necessary to dispel the impression carried by the label "Wiedertäufer," which described them as descendants of bloodthirsty terrorists not only in scholarly treatises, but also in belletristic writing.

The author of the pamphlet ("N.," i.e., Christian Neff) wrote a good precis and rejection. In his *Lexikon* article "Konferenz der süddeutschen Mennoniten," he lists the other two pamphlets (*Flugblätter*) of the series: Number 1: *Was sind Mennoniten?* and Number 3: *Mennoniten keine Baptisten und Methodisten,* again reflecting on the state-church view of "sectarian" groups. Reference to the "Baptist" denomination was made to eliminate confusion about this distinct English seventeenth-century denomination. A related problem exists in the fact that the terms "Anabaptist" and "Anabaptism" in the English language do not have (or, at least, did not continue to have) the disastrous ring of "Wiedertäufer" unless in the specifically intolerant sense of its use in Elizabethan England. (I recall that both Hege and Neff felt a bit unhappy about the American use of "Anabaptist" and "Anabaptism," but, of course, they appreciated the semantic implication and knew that the German term "Täufer," i.e., Baptist, could not be used here.)

The three pamphlets issued for about 1200 members of the South German Conference are indeed time documents. They point up the fixation of a political prejudice which reaches back into the Reformation period. The "Zwickau Prophets," the preacher and peasant leader Thomas Müntzer, and finally the Münster revolutionaries of 1535 had furnished welcome opportunities for the official Reformers to point to even the peaceful evangelical "Anabaptists" as potentially dangerous trouble makers. In a few well stated sentences, Neff's pamphlet explains the idea of "re-baptism" as out of line with the principal interpretation of the Biblical meaning of baptism as propounded by the Brethren. What heightens the role of this appeal of 1914 for a correct understanding of Mennonitism (not "Anabap-

tism") is that the long defunct Imperial Law of 1529 had still to be cited for both the "re-baptizer" and the "re-baptized." Under the shadow of this incisive decree the destructive meaning of the term "Anabaptist" took its forbidding hold in the law courts and in official publications, and cast over the centuries an unholy spell of serious discrimination against peaceful Anabaptist groups with no regard to their independent origin and development in the middle 1520's.

Much has been written in clarification—aside from the reproduction of documentary sources—of what had been historically incorrect. Of recent times one need only list A. H. Newman, Preserved Smith, Roland Bainton, Wilhelm Pauck, Calvin Fraser Hunt, Eberhard Teufel, R. J. Smithson, F. H. Littell, and in the closer circle John Horsch, H. S. Bender, Cornelius Krahn, Robert Friedmann, and Donovan E. Smucker. For any needed rear-guard action effective equipment for rebuttal has been readied in Bender's *Anabaptist Vision;* "Die Zwickau Propheten, Thomas Müntzer, und die Täufer" (University of Basel, *Theologische Zeitschrift,* 1952, also in English in the *MQR,* January 1953); and in the brilliant summary by Professor Smucker, then of the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Chicago, entitled "Anabaptist Historiography in the Scholarship of Today" (*MQR,* April 1948).

It is difficult to fully explain the nature of the "post-persecution" atmosphere, the clouds of which apparently never fully disappeared from the European horizon. It is of course also important to assess the historic processes by which a pitifully minute European Mennonite minority spread in different cultural environments, changed its own character, and altered some of its nonconformity positions. Ernst Crous wrote a remarkable survey of such conscious and unconscious changes in Germany for the period after the middle of the seventeenth century (*MQR,* October 1951).

The long-continued shadow that fell over its historic treatment appeared to have become the perpetual fate of "Anabaptism" in both state-church and in secular writing. This was the case even after Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) had proclaimed his classic principle of historical research: "Be true to the sources" (*den Quellen gerecht zu werden),* the seeking for and the detection of sources to create a historically faithful understanding (*historisch getreues Verständnis*). Obviously such an approach could not fail to be applied eventually even to the Anabaptist movement. Coming to grips with aspects of the general untrustworthiness of "traditional" history, hardly any spot could remain shrouded in sheer mystery or remain submerged in

prefabricated bias. Ranke and his school aimed to discover "how things actually happened" and in due time produced an extraordinary expositor of Anabaptist history. This man went straight into a critical examination of "the facts as they were" in the baneful Münster uprising of 1534; viz., Carl Adolf Cornelius (1819-1903), a secular historian descended from an old Catholic family. His career is well epitomized in one of the best written biographical sketches in the *Lexikon,* prepared by his son, Professor Hans Cornelius. I remember vividly how thrilled both Hege and Neff were by this contribution. It reveals several new observations about his father's "Anabaptist" interests. The father had been elected to the Frankfurt revolutionary Parliament in 1849. Thus he was a witness, if not, because of his liberal outlook, a participant, of the "Forty-Eighter" movement and the progressive legislation which followed in its wake. Through such stimulation he was attracted to prepare a history of the Münster rebellion, "the only real and complete revolution on German soil" (*Lexikon* I, 372). His doctoral study, *De fontibus, quibus in historia seditionis Monasteriensis Anabaptisticae* (Münster, 1850), constitutes a significant turn for all times. First of all it proved the inadequacy of the sources previously used. Second, in his *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs* (1855) the very student of the revolutionary rise and fall of the Münsterites pointed to the peaceful Anabaptists arising about 1523 and characterized them in the sense that "their only weapon is patience in tribulation . . . their lot is humiliation and suffering."

The Ranke-Cornelius approach had set a landmark. It determined the advance of an ever more bountiful harvest of objective studies of Anabaptism, biographical as well as regional. Not for some time, however, was this historiographical change sufficiently effective to abrogate the existing "official" state and church prejudices and contemporary modes of defamation. But the ground for documented factual historical truth was being cleared.

A distinguished German archivist gifted with an enthusiasm for the "undiscovered," Dr. Ludwig Keller (1849-1915), aided and added in considerable measure to Anabaptist-Mennonite studies. Constantly exposed to controversial reactions, Keller's vigorous research and its widespread ramification led him to develop configurations of "altevangelische Taufgesinntengemeinden" supposedly affiliated with the medieval Waldenses. There has, of course, never been a doubt regarding the phenomena of critical "heretical" sects throughout Christian history, but no proof exists as to their genetic connection with the Anabaptists. Keller's efforts were sympathetically

echoed particularly among the South German Mennonites and quite intimately so among Christian and Christine Fellmann Hege's relatives. Ulrich Hege of Reihen (1812-1896), founder (1870) and for a quarter century editor of the *Gemeindeblatt der Mennoniten,* was an admiring sponsor of the Keller influence. There is no question but that Christian Hege was practically brought up on Keller. In an even more expressive manner "der Johannes-Vetter," of the Horsch-Landes settlement in Upper Franconia, John Horsch (1867-1941), became an outstanding American interpreter of Keller's view of the Anabaptists. Attention is directed to the Horsch Memorial Number (*MQR,* July 1947), where I in my "Notes on John Horsch as a Historian" but more fully Harold S. Bender, Elizabeth Horsch Bender, and Robert Friedmann present the relationship between Keller and Horsch and a reproduction of letters from Ludwig Keller during the period from 1885-1893. Christian Neff also came strongly under Keller's influence.

Christian Hege's first publication in book form, *Die Täufer in der Kurpfalz, Ein Beitrag zur badisch-pfälzischen Reformationsgeschichte* (Frankfurt, 1908), acknowledges Keller's influence but also offers critical differences on certain of the historical issues. A somewhat more surprising feature (in part related to Keller) appears in an appeal and request for congregational data for an *Altevangelisch-Mennonitisches Universal-Lexikon.* The four-page folder in my possession is undated but probably relates to the period around 1910.

There is much that should still be put in the right perspective about the change from a prejudiced if not slanderous treatment of the Anabaptists to an objective approach. An intriguing subject is the place of Anabaptists and Mennonites in literature and in the arts. Modern specialists such as Dr. H. F. W. Jeltes (Netherlands), Pastor Otto Schowalter (Hamburg), the monographic studies by Elizabeth Horsch Bender on the Swiss and German novelists and playwrights, and the recent Indiana University Ph.D. dissertation by Mary E. Bender, are most elucidative. One of the shocking cases was the weak superpatriotic drama by Ernst von Wildenbruch, *Der Menonit* (the misspelling of the title symbolically corresponds with its misshapen contents). More than any other literary figure the *Menonit* caused distressing reactions in all German Mennonite circles and even beyond when during World War I it was again dragged onto the stage. Protest arose almost everywhere. Wildenbruch himself felt that he had to retract certain portions. The term "alt-evangelisch"—that is, "related to an ancient Christian non-church tradition"—was, in part, meant to work as an interpretive balance wheel. The atmosphere

was laden with issues and controversies out of which the Ranke-Cornelius-Keller influence rises like a searchlight of penetrating influence.

For the extraordinary change of outlook on history, which the Hege-Neff team helped by spreading sound information about the past and present of their community, articles for Mennonite periodicals or for Keller's *Monatshefte der Comeniusgesellschaft* would no longer suffice. The urge for presenting genuine sources called for more space and for appropriate channels in order to reach wider circles.

Christian Neff, after his call as pastor of the Weierhof congregation, received permission to examine the records of the Generallandesarchiv of Karlsruhe. For greater convenience the material was loaned to government offices in his immediate vicinity. His report of 1898 to the Vereinigung Deutscher Mennonitengemeinden, gives an idea of the labor involved. (See Pastor Paul Schowalter's article in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* April 1949.) Neff copied many hundreds of pages from the Karlsruhe archives in his fine, meticulous hand. Pressing demands on his time and his precarious health did not permit him to publish or even adequately exploit what he had gathered over the years.

Christian Hege, with whom he had formed a friendship in their common historical concern, was engaged in a different profession, in newspaper work. Despite its exacting demands, it was at least manageable by a regulated schedule beyond which ample time was at his disposal for private research and writing. Certain well-stocked public and private libraries in Frankfurt, especially the Stadtbibliothek and the Hochstift, gave welcome assistance. Neff and Hege agreed that the archival groundwork should be developed into a book which —in a due acknowledgement rendered to his friend Neff—became Christian Hege's first large literary product: *Die Täufer in der Kurpfalz* (1908). This *Beitrag zur badisch-pfälzischen Reformationsgeschichte* was the pioneer move on the part of German Mennonites to present indisputable historic information about their sixteenth-century forefathers by reproductions taken from actual debates and similar testimonies. More will be said on the Hege-Neff effort in another part of this Memorial. The *Kurpfalz* book can well be considered as the initial effort of a later larger enterprise: the publication of the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer* undertaken by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte as a "duty of modern German Reformation scholarship" and approved by outstanding Mennonite bodies. Christian Hege had to write the first book alone, but in inti-

mate association with his brother-in-the-faith, Christian Neff. The late Lutheran minister and church historian Eberhard Teufel, one of the best informed modern students of Anabaptism, has given the fullest recognition to the pioneer significance of this volume. ("Täufertum und Quäkertum im Lichte der neueren Forschung, VI" in *Theologische Rundschau,* Tübingen, 1943, dealing with Baden-Kurpfalz, pp. 58-69.)

Christine Hege's *Kurze Geschichte der Mennoniten* (Frankfurt, 1909) appeared on behalf of the Vereinigung der Mennoniten-Gemeinden im Deutschen Reich. The 126-page work had been encouraged by a prize contest first announced by the Vereinigung in 1902 but renewed in 1905 when two responses to the first appeal proved unsatisfactory. I have "als Manuskript gedruckt"—a rather tattered *Bericht über die Preisarbeiten und die Urteile der Preisrichter* issued by H. G. Mannhardt at Danzig on April 1, 1904, covering 45 pages, a gift of Pastor Neff. The Committee of 1902 included Pastor Ernst Weydmann of Krefeld, who died in 1903 and had been a contestant himself. Other members were Christian Hege, J. P. Müller (Emden), Christian Neff, H. van der Smissen (Hamburg), H. G. Mannhardt (Danzig), and A. Siebert (Elbing). Professor F. Nippold (Jena) was the only non-Mennonite member.

I am unable to discover the circumstances under which the second contest was held. It was concluded on August 1, 1907. If I understand the Publication Committee's foreword of *Kurze Geschichte* correctly, Mrs. Hege must have been the only contestant. Once more there must have been "Gutachten" to supplement and improve the draft. The book appeared in the late spring of 1909. The *Bericht* of 1904 has no direct bearing on the 1905 contest. It is worth looking at the expectations then held regarding requirements for a Mennonite history for family use and baptismal instruction.

Pastor Mannhardt raised a query about the position of Mennonitism within contemporary culture and in relation to evangelical Christianity in general. Are the Mennonites still characterized by withdrawal from the world? What entitles them to the claim of a "separate existence"? He warns that to live just on a "blessed heritage" would soon exhaust the spiritual capital of the Mennonites. Neff stressed the need of an exclusively local treatment as the only way to focus the characteristic elements. The views of Professor Nippold (1838-1918) are rich in detail on the evolution of greater tolerance among church historians. "Chr. Hege, Frankfurt a.M." shows his concern for a balanced treatment of the entire topic combined with his regret that South Germany had hitherto failed to receive

adequate representation. There is a wealth of compressed information in Hege's report. It fully testifies to his expert knowledge and fair, universal outlook. From a pedagogical point of view, Hege wished that a short history be written in a style that would inspire the young and make them look up to the ancient leaders with love and admiration.

The two Hege volumes brought the first contribution of Professor Walther Köhler, then at the University of Zürich, to a Mennonite publication. Köhler, who became not only a staunch supporter of practically all aspects of Anabaptistica-Mennonitica research but also a close associate in the formation and development of Hege's Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, wrote a deeply appreciative appraisal of the Hege books. He credits Christian Hege with a unique contribution, although he was not a full-fledged academician and trained theologian. He praises Christine Hege's *Kurze Geschichte* for its "Ruhe, Klarheit und Sicherheit" and urges an enlarged and up-dated edition for the benefit of both Mennonites and non-Mennonites (*Menn. Blätter,* October 1909).

The history of the development of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* in its early stages is difficult to trace. The intial questionnaire contemplating an "Altevangelisch-mennonitisches Universal-Lexikon" (circular of 1910?) does not say very much. Neff and Hege refer to themselves as editing it together (*gemeinsam*), planning about 5,000 articles. A promising new rubric in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter,* April 1950, dealing with the history of historical research reproduces a letter from Hege to Neff dated April 17, 1909. It praises Neff for his decision to take up historical studies, and in answer to his query as to how the results could be utilized, Hege suggests a yearbook for Mennonite history, stressing the inclusion of documentary materials.

Another circular announces the appearance of the first installment of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* for March 1913, lists the titles for the forthcoming installment and even a sample of the text covering two pages of about ten brief unsigned articles. This folder probably appeared in 1912. It speaks of "several years of preparatory work," and of a plan to produce a handbook. The *Lexikon* is also to inform about the communities which spread beyond Europe and thus serve as a connection with them. Generally it is to provide ready orientation on historical questions, survey the suffering of the forebears, and illustrate their attainments in religious and cultural spheres. It is to sketch leading personalities in its own group but also to refer to friends or opponents. "Our numerous martyrs are to be

recognized in testimony to their memory. Our community is a community of martyrs without parallel. . . . The great principles of faith for which they gave up their possessions and their lives are to be given fullest recognition and appreciation."

Christian Hege and Christian Neff, faithful builders of spiritual bridges from the past, stern defenders of Mennonite traditions, were not permitted to finish their enormous tasks. Their lexicographical creation had become, however, an extraordinary deposit of original studies. A considerable number of problems were examined and reported for the first time. In the great concern of half a century ago when Mennonite history was just about to be rescued from its suppressed stage, the *Lexikon* became the standard-bearer of that remarkable restitution. It is not possible to enumerate the many experts, non-Mennonite and Mennonite, church historians and secular historians, who became its outstanding contributors. The names Bossert, Köhler, Loserth, Rembert, von Muralt, and Teufel must suffice, but Pastor Teufel's special care for the literary heritage of the *Lexikon* and Geschichtsverein household, which he faithfully assumed in the tragic 1940's, calls for gratitude and admiration; likewise, the readiness and dedication with which Ernst Crous and Harold S. Bender assumed the lead in rescuing what could still be rescued for future growth.

Seen in the background of South German Mennonite social history, the Hege couple settling in 1895 in the commercial metropolis of Frankfurt were members of a growing fringe of urbanized professionals. Their inner and outer ties, however, remained unsevered from the cluster of their religious and rural home communities.

The Heges were keen observers along the periphery of the Palatinate and South German Mennonite settlements. A slowly growing degree of defection among the younger generation was taking place—especially on the Palatinate side—as they moved out of their more isolated surroundings. The Heges themselves could have figured in that sort of emancipating change when Christian Hege accepted the position of Commercial Editor of the *Frankfurter Nachrichten*—indeed an unusual ambition for an "Oberbiegelhöfer" Hege at that time. But, rooted as he was in that very same background and in that outspoken spirit of devotion in the Hege tradition, neither Christian nor Christine Hege was so disposed. On the contrary, Christian's own father, Daniel Hege (1836-1900), had, after a period of large-scale tenancy, shifted to Munich, combining real estate interests with the resettlement of Baden Mennonites in that region. By the time Christian went to Frankfurt, his father had succeeded in combining

the older Palatinate settlers in that neighborhood and the Baden newcomers into the first Mennonite congregation in the city of Munich.

Frankfurt had just begun at that time to attract Mennonite young men from here and there. While in other cities they found little if any chance of Mennonite connections, the Hege home in Frankfurt became one of the instruments by which to solve "Diaspora" problems and strengthen their religious consciousness. The Heges were also the nucleus in the formation in 1913 of the Darmstadt congregation, comprising about 40 members. Uncle Jakob Hege (1848-1911), one of the first "Reiseprediger," was a frequent "Servant of the Word" here to keep traditions alive.

Christine Hege's whole outlook on life, the test by which she made and stood by decisions, was rooted in the "magna charta" of Täufer lore: the Sermon on the Mount. She was ever truly sensitive to its principles and endeavored to apply them. Sharing with her husband that inward peace illustrated in the old Täufer term "Gelassenheit," Mrs. Hege's alert temperament nevertheless gave her a liberal outlook on cultural and political matters in general. Hers was an attitude close to the "evangelisch-soziale Bewegung" of the order of the "Social Gospel Movement." Also the "Evangelical Alliance" and its furtherance of justice in international relations had her strong sympathy. The influence exerted in Frankfurt by C. de Neufville pervaded her judgment on secular affairs. At times her views were at odds with the more pragmatic position of her husband. Also there was not always complete agreement with some of the Mennonite relations and their over-conservative political outlook. Unforgettable is one of the rare occasions when Mrs. Hege felt free to leave her busy household to attend an evening affair. We went to a meeting called by the Deutsche Demokratische Partei in honor of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Paulskirche Parliament of 1848. As we spoke of Hermann von Beckerath (1801-1870), its Mennonite representative, we were aware of how remote the political views of most Mennonites were from the ideals of a liberal democracy in those sensitive 1920's.

The Hege home was a modest third-floor apartment on Rothschildallee. Its utter simplicity, the work-a-day life, a wholesome natural atmosphere with a good sense of humor, created an aura of friendly and welcome retreat that left the "world" outside. The Hege household invited friendly neighborliness and trust. Christine Hege's urban location did not make an emphatic political student of her, not even an avid newspaper reader. But an assuring freedom-

loving spirit remained dominant in her reaction to the affairs of the world. It was a spirit intrinsic in her evangelical ways of thought. How keenly, however, she could sense the distressing developments in German politics. In the sensitivity and kindness of her heart Christine Hege retained some of the stubbornness of her forebears, and she and her family would not compromise with the racial discrimination orders of the Hitler regime. They continued to lend their helping hand in unbroken friendliness to the outcasts. As a consequence, Christian Hege, in the fall of 1933, after forty-two years of faithful service, had to accept separation from the paper where he was employed. He was unwilling to join the Nazi Party and subscribe to principles which he could not in conscience endorse. "He was not to be moved," Adele wrote in the 1949 *Geschichtsblätter,* "to bow to the Third Reich" in his daily market reports and comments. In this he was strongly supported by his wife. It is to the great credit of Elder Michael Horsch that the Badischer Verband (Mennonite Conference) at this point intervened to support Hege in his position and in his historical work by a monthly stipend which it continued till his death in 1943. It enabled him to devote full time to his historical work.

Until the fall of 1933, his newspaper imposed strict schedules on Christian Hege, requiring his full attention to stock exchange transactions, industrial developments, and international finance. He regularly attended the exchange markets. There were occasions when, in the early 1920's, I was allowed to join his routine tour of work in the exchange and afterwards in the *Frankfurter Nachrichten* where he managed the financial page. The commercial activities of Frankfurt as one of the ancient European commercial centers were, of course, of extraordinary interest to me as a student of economics. But within the historical interest which brought me to the home of the *Lexikon,* the privilege of watching one of its editors and the historian of Anabaptism in surroundings far remote from what I knew were his innermost concerns was even more extraordinary. The fine disciplined aloofness, a known Hege characteristic, revealed itself to me in full view. As regular a figure on the exchange floors as any of its members, as they met during the loud, rapid doings, a distinct element of respect passed between them. There were also good laughs at some less serious comment. After final chores in the hectic *Nachrichten* offices, returning home meant the faithful resumption of the study, writing, and editing of "materials" far removed from the sphere of a worldly business emporium.

Such was the background and contrast in the lives of the Heges and the folio against which they developed and shared their saintly cooperation of nearly half a century. The quiet dedication which encompassed these accomplishments had no other cause than their faith and conviction. In that deep foundation the Heges were rooted in an abiding trust. Persevering, they remained rather untouched by the floods of propaganda. That was true also of Adele and Fritz, the youngest and then the only surviving son. Adele's thinking and judgment had much of the tenor of her mother's and also had much in common with the spirited ideas of her brother Otto only a few years her junior. I knew the latter well during his initial university days. He had come to Munich to continue his study of modern philology and history. (See *Menn. Jugendwarte,* December 1921, on Otto and the Menn. Studenten Vereinigung in Munich.) We travelled the Bavarian-Swabian Mennonite "Vetternstrasse" together quite often.

Adele's fragile health had frequently forced her away from home into a sanitorium for special care. Concern about her remained the uppermost worry in the family. But then, in the summer of 1921, Otto was killed in a boat accident in the Isar River near Munich. As Fritz, his younger brother, became later, Otto had been an industrious contributor and a sort of understudy to the *Lexikon.* But in that sudden accident, he lost his cheerful life. I was still in Ulrich and Lydia Hege's home in Schloss Markt, to which we had just returned from the Lichtis in Ellgau on the Lech. Otto, obliged to attend to some university matter, had gone back to Munich. None of us at Schloss Markt will forget the moment when the telephone news came. I went to Munich to accompany Otto's body to Frankfurt. Never will I forget walking with his parents through the cemetery paths to select Otto's grave near Walter, their first-born, and still another who had died in childhood. Christian Neff came from the Weierhof to conduct the services.

Anyone asked to appraise the work of Christian and Christine Hege could not do so without an awareness of their way under the Cross. But my witness relates only to a part of the crushing burden that intermittently fell on the Hege family. Mrs. Hege had a finely cultured reaction to the nature and character of the people they met, a quality which gave her a keen and immediate sense of judgment. She was the respected counsellor in the family circle and to those who approached her for personal advice. She had a gift of clairvoyance that enabled her to predict and prayerfully face the heartbreaking events that shook their lives. Cares and fears she entrusted to God's providence. In the noble "Gelassenheit" of her forebears, who accept-

ed the inevitable from His hands, she lived the attitude expressed in an old hymn:

Er weiss schon nach Seinem Willen
Mein Verlangen zu erfüllen,
Es hat alles seine Zeit.
Ich hab Ihm nichts vorzuschreiben,
Wie Gott will, so muss es bleiben,
Wann Gott will, ich bin bereit.

Adele wrote me about her mother's last days when asthma began to disturb her. Once, not long before her sudden death, she told Adele: "You will see, we shall have to sacrifice our Fritzle also." It was soon thereafter, on March 3, 1942, that Mother Hege passed away. On March 7, Fritz, born in 1917, fell on the battlefield near Berdyansk in Russia.

In the spring of 1943, Adele and her father fled from sorely stricken Frankfurt to find refuge in Eichstätt, Bavaria, near his sister's home. This was not too far from the settlements of the active Mennonite community of Ingolstadt. In May 1943, settled in their new abode, they were eager to reorganize the historical work despite the shaken circumstances of the time.

Most of the collections pertaining to the *Lexikon* and the *Geschichtsblätter,* including the stock of undistributed issues, they were able to take with them. Then Christian Hege's health, already damaged by a diabetic condition since 1938, began to break and to break fast, causing intense suffering, even the loss of his left leg. It was on September 13, 1943, that God called Christian Hege to his final refuge. His body was taken to the ancient Mennonite cemetery at Eichstock near Munich, where he rests among several generations of his Anabaptist-Mennonite kin.

The beautiful meetinghouse of 1841 near which Christian Hege is interred is surrounded by two magnificent lindens. Located on a small promontory, it is more than an artist's mausoleum to reflect Christian Hege's memory. How moving to open the December 1937 issue of the *Geschichtsblätter* and find in his "Geschichtliches aus den Gemeinden" Christian Hege's carefully documented and illustrated essay dealing with the "Der Kirchenbau zu Eichstock bei Dachau, 1841." It closes with an observation which, during the sorrowful year of 1943, was given a strangely anticipatory meaning: "The cemetery surrounding the church is often used by Mennonite families who do not belong to the Eichstock congregation."

The life and work of Christian and Christine Hege were witness to a strong sense of their Anabaptist ancestry. Alert affiliation with

their family church was the source of their outlook and daily concern. It is impossible in the nature of things to disentangle and treat such lives in purely analytical fashion. But the Hege accomplishments in a decisive half century could well be defined as follows in academic style: Christian Hege, inceptor venerabilis of the modern encyclopedic apparatus of comprehensive presentation flowing from the *Fontes rerum Anabaptisticarum,* forever insisting on original source evidence and providing it wherever possible, and *Christine Fellmann Hege,* guiding spirit, inspiring author of *Kurze Geschichte der Mennoniten*—both pioneers of a forceful development of modern Mennonite historical literature, spokesmen and defenders of the evangelical free church. That which they initiated and strengthened by impartial scholarship and made accessible for immediate as well as permanent service secures their memory in monuments to their ancestors and to their own proven piety and dedication." "Faith of our Fathers, Holy Faith."

May God bless that which Christian and Christine Hege carried forward against all odds and under unending hardships.

ANABAPTISM IN SCHLEIDEN-IN-THE-EIFEL

Ernst Crous

Schleiden, today a county seat in the district of Aachen, Germany, was once the capital of a gravure which bordered on the Gravure of Reifferscheid on the south, and on the Jülich district of Monschau on the west. The principality (*Unterherrschaft*) of Dreiborn (or Trimborn) lay between Schleiden and Monschau. Ownership and legal jurisdiction were quite complicated. For instance, the village of Dreiborn was divided, half belonging to Schleiden and half to the Unterherrschaft. The Counts who ruled in Schleiden in the sixteenth century, Dietrich IV (1501-51), Dietrich V (1551-60), and Dietrich VI (1560-93), belonged to the house of Manderscheid-Schleiden, which adopted Lutheranism in 1559. Their successors of the house of von der Mark carried through the Counter-Reformation. In Dreiborn the Lords Kuno von Einenberg, Rabold von Plettenberg, and Friedrich von Eltz remained Catholic, while the house of von Harff, which followed them, was Lutheran. The Counts of (Salm-) Reifferscheid, Johann III (1505-29), Johann IV (1529-55), and Werner (1555-1629) remained Catholic.

Along with and following the territory of the lower Rur Valley the upper Rur area also became a breeding-place of Anabaptism. The border zone between Monschau and Schleiden-Dreiborn, which was constituted by the Rur, attracted them, just as did the border zone between Jülich and Gelderland. Scheibler reports that "the Anabaptists, 'die Stillen im Lande,' retreated into the remotest corners of our land," but nevertheless the persecution which was provoked by the Edict of Speyer in 1529 found them. A letter of May 5, 1540, from Friedrich von Eltz to Count Dietrich IV makes it clear that the Counts of Schleiden and Reifferscheid had agreed on the expulsion of the Anabaptists and that the Lord of Dreiborn followed their example, but that those who were driven out of Dreiborn found refuge in Schleiden, which Friedrich von Eltz ordered to be stopped. But it proved impossible to get rid of the "wicked and accursed sect."

According to a rescript of 1548 the Anabaptists had measurably increased in Dreiborn since 1541. From the trial testimony of Theunis von Hastenrath, who was borned at the stake in 1551 in Linnich on the Rur, we learn that he and others had baptized five or six persons in Einruhr (in the Rur Valley) and in Wollseifen (east of Einruhr on the height). In Monschau he had stayed as a guest, but had exercised his preaching office only in the region of Vennen among the bushes and hedges between the hills. Ducal religious inspections

were carried out in July 1550 and November 1559 in the territories of Monschau (especially in Simmerath, north of Monschau) and Dreiborn (especially in Olef, north of Schleiden).

In 150 in Simmerath a list of about a dozen persons was drawn up who had not taken the holy sacramnet "last Easter," and did not attend services in either the churches or the monasteries. In 1554 teachers and readers (*Voleser*) are mentioned, and a list of about a hundred "Anabaptists, Sacramentists, and Sectarians" was drawn up who had disappeared or fled. In 1555 a list of the property holdings of these "disappeared" persons was prepared. In 1558 a ducal commission came to examine carefully the matter of confiscation of these properties.

Among the preachers in this area was Zillis Jacobs, who was of equal significance for the upper Rur as Lemke was for the lower Rur. Both sought to mediate between the Anabaptists in the South and the North, but in the decisive matter of the strict ban took a stand against Menno Simons in the Strasbourg Conference of 1557, where fifty elders from the Eifel to Moravia were present.

It is noteworthy that women "apostles" are named among the preachers. One such "apostoless," Bernhartz Maria of Niederrollesbroich, said that she had been caught up into the third heaven. Another Maria was executed by drowning in Monschau in 1552 in the second year of her imprisonment. To her is dedicated the oldest Lower Rhine martyr hymn, which appears in the oldest known edition of the *Schon Gesangbüchlein* and in the *Ausbund* (No. 25). In this hymn she testified that she wished to keep Christ's covenant and walk in love, and that she desired to suffer like Christ and all the righteous, and to offer her sacrifice. The reports relate in great detail how her husband, Tönis uf den Steinen, with his four small children, had to forfeit all his property, and that many fled as far as Maastricht in the west and Cologne in the east. The well-known martyr of Cologne, Thomas von Imbroich, stemmed from Imgenbroich between Monschau and Simmerath.

In Olef, the seat of the mother church of the principality, the pastor complained in 1550 that several of the subjects of the Count of Manderscheid-Schleiden living in Einruhr and Wollseifen who belonged to his parish had been rebaptized. A document in the Dreiborn Archives lists Anabaptists who had fled from Herhahn (between Wollseifen and Schleiden) in 1551-1555, some with and some without their families, and whose properties had in part been confiscated and given to others. Another document in the same archive lists Anabaptists of Einruhr, Ettelscheid, Herhahn, Wollseifen, and even Drei-

born itself, whose property rights had been taken over by the principality.

A report on Aachen made to Duke Wilhelm of Jülich on July 6, 1555, states that many Anabaptists from the Schleiden territory were coming into Monschau territory, where they held meetings and ate the "Passover lamb." In 1557-1558 some Hutterian Brethren made their way to Aachen as well as into the Eifel area. Hans Arbeiter, who was won to the cause by Hans Schmid, tried to persuade the Swiss Brethren, to whom he had previously belonged, of the superiority of Hutterite principles, in Aachen and "in the Aiffen," winning many people in and around Aachen, in the Netherlands, and along the Rhine.

The church inspection of Monschau and Dreiborn in 1559 names no Anabaptists. Nevertheless, the movement had not yet died out. "All efforts failed to exterminate them . . . the children adopted the faith of their parents and in it felt happy and secure."[1]

For the middle of the 1580's and the end of the 1590's there is more information. Christian Hege had noted for use in an article on Schleiden that a petition of all the preachers of the Gravure of Schleiden (the original with ten signatures is now in the Protestant church office at Schleiden) in 1585 protested against the *"Schwärmer,* both Calvinist and Anabaptist," their previous protest having proved fruitless. Thereupon the pious Duke Dietrich VI ordered in that year that the Anabaptists leave the country within a week; in that if they resisted, the chimneys were to be taken down and the property confiscated. The official tax records of 1586-1587 (now in the Archives of Arenberg) list some fines received from Anabaptists, who "remained on their opinion and at the same time stayed in the land."

A decade later (1597-1598) a record of 138 pages (now in the Staatsarchiv at Düsseldorf) contains a detailed report by two surveyors listing some one hundred fugitive Anabaptists with their confiscated property; houses, land, furniture, cattle, oats, etc. They had continued to increase and had still been living in the area of Simmerath, especially in Kesternich and Dedenborn. Some fled from Pleushammer near Einruhr, over the Rur to the bridge of St. Nicholas, others still farther, via Heimbach to Deutz on the other side of the Rhine. Some who had found shelter in adjoining Schleiden territory returned secretly to their homes at night to "remove of the confiscated goods and to lead other subjects into their error." Scheibler,[2] who lives here, stresses that the names in this report are today, al-

1 Walter Scheibler, *Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinde Monschau* (Aachen, 1939), 25.
2 Walter Scheibler, *op. cit.,* 30.

most without exception common in the Monschau area. In this fact he sees evidence that the people in question were quiet and unassuming, wanting only the best and noblest, and for it accepted persecution like the old Christian martyrs. On August 21, 1600, the magistrate of Schleiden expressly reported that preachers were slipping in from the outside.

In the seventeenth century the movement faded out; but still there are occasional reports of Anabaptists. In 1605-1606 we read of rental income from confiscated property, in 1638 of of twelve Anabaptist families still living in Monschau, in 1639 of an Anabaptist widow living at Klappermühle in the Vichtbach Valley (north of Simmerath) who petitioned for the remission of her protection fee, in 1659 of the further decline in the number of the Anabaptists in the district of Monschau, in 1669-1670 of a financial officer of the Duke who confiscated at this late date some Anabaptist properties, and of 550 Reichstaler in fines which were to be paid "because of not executed emigration," and in 1694 of the sale of Anabaptist property which netted 380 Reichstaler.

An Anabaptist congregation persisted into the eighteenth century in Einruhr, whose members had in part been able to recover their former property. They buried their dead quietly in their gardens. In 1711 Preacher Jan Helgers of Burtscheid requested help from Deacon Abraham Jacobs Fries of the Lamist Congregation in Amsterdam, treasurer of the Committee for Foreign Needs, for refugees in the faith from Einruhr who had been driven from their homes and followed their preacher Jan Pluys to Holland and wanted to settle in South Holland as farmers. In 1886 Daniel Decker died, an aged former Mennonite, once the leader of the congregation but now turned Reformed. His family still lives in Einruhr. (Translated from the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* IV 1959, pp. 66-68.)

Bibliography: Wilhelm Günther, "Das Schleidener Tal im 15. u. 16. Jh. und die Reformation unter den Manderscheidern" *(Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes,* VIII), 155-172; Josef Janssen, "Wiedertäufer im Montjoier Land" *(Der Eremit im Hohen Venn,* VI, 1930); Heinrich Kelleter, "Zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer in der Eifel" *(Monatshefte für rheinische Kirchengeschichte,* XI, 1917), pp. 161-167; Walter Scheibler, "Wiedertäufer in der Eifel" *(Monatshefte für rheinische Kirchengeschichte,* I, 1907), pp. 471 f.; *Geschichte der evangelischen Gemeinde Monschau* (Aachen, 1939), pp. 15-33; Ernst Crous, "Von Täufern und Mennoniten am Niederrhein" *(Der Mennonit,* VIII and IX, 1955-1959).

THE CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC AND ANABAPTIST ORIGINS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

LEONARD VERDUIN*

Men call October 31, 1517, the birthday of the Protestant Reformation. To do so is warranted, as warranted and as unwarranted as to call July 4, 1776, the birthday of the Land of the Free. It must be said, and said often, that nothing in history happens suddenly. Every piece played has its prelude. Each decisive battle has a softening up that goes before.

Anabaptism is no exception to this rule. It also did not spring full-fledged upon the scene. It too had its antecedents. One may indeed assert that "in January of the year 1525 Anabaptism was founded"—for it is convenient that this thing too shall have its birthday—but the recital of 1525 as the date of the birth of Anabaptism must not make us blind to the fact that it too had its forerunners.

In fact, few people need to discipline themselves as much to the fact that big movements in history do not happen suddenly as does the student of Anabaptism. Its forerunners had to work under cover; if they were to survive at all they had to travel incognito as much as possible. This fact ought to make us more than ordinarily sensitive toward any and every signal that flashes out of the historic beyond of Anabaptism. Anabaptism had many antecedents; but it had no antecedents that it could safely acknowledge. To acknowledge any of its debts to the past would have been suicidal, the worst kind of strategy. In such a situation any evidence of continuity with earlier eruptions of dissent takes on greater meaning than it would normally have.

We shall not at this time enter into that ancient, but by no means concluded, discussion as to Anabaptism's debt, if any, to such a movement as that of the Waldenses. We only wish to say, in passing, that the conviction grows on us that the contribution of Waldensianism to Anabaptism was considerable, much more than is commonly recognized. We are of the opinion that without the softening-up service of Waldensianism, Anabaptism would have been quite unlikely. But, as we have said, we shall not enter into this ancient controversy at the present time.

Rather would we dwell upon another institution that furnished some of the preliminaries for the Reformation in general, and for Anabaptism in particular also. We refer to the Chambers of Rhetoric. We shall trace first the way-preparing service the Chambers ren-

* Leonard Verduin is Director of the Campus Chapel at the University of Michigan. He is the author of many articles on the Anabaptists in *The Reformed Journal* and served as the translator of *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons* (Scottdale, Pa., 1956).

dered to the Reformation as such and then to Anabaptism in particular.

The Chambers of Rhetoric were a feature of the northern Renaissance that surged through the southern Low Countries in late medieval times. They were a peculiarly Flemish institution. Originally designed to provide an outlet for the rising literary and artistic taste and talent by putting on plays, they very early became the clearing house for the many-sided rebellion against the church that had been gaining momentum for centuries in Flanders, the Pope's problem child number one.[1] The Catholic Church had left no stone unturned to keep Flanders in line. The Inquisition was already an old institution here when the works of Luther came to its attention. Nowhere were the presses so closely watched as in Flanders. And, significantly enough, nowhere were as many "heretical" books and pamphlets pouring forth nevertheless. Small wonder that in such an area men turned also to the Chambers of Rhetoric in the hope of finding through its dramatics an adequate and a comparatively safe outlet for the expression of their innermost convictions.

As early as the early fifteenth century such plays as the Rhetoricians used were already on the church's Index. In 1408, for instance, an edict was published at Doornick (Tournay), the city later to be known as "the Geneva of Flanders," forbidding the enactment of "plays treating of the mystery of the holy sacrament and other matters touching our faith."[2]

Luther's brave deed, it need hardly be said, made the Rhetoricians still more active and much bolder. It also made the church even more vigilant. New and more violent measures were immediately taken in an attempt to silence the far from orthodox plays. Hand in hand with a sustained attempt to keep the books of Luther out of men's hands came a frantic effort to put a stop to the activities of the Chambers. So closely related were these two restrictive measures that repeatedly the lists of forbidden books and pamphlets have

1 Dissent against many of the features of medievalism had been rife in the southern Low Countries for several centuries before 1517. Denial of the miracle of the Mass, for instance, had been prevalent for all of five centuries. It was never absent during all that time, and it was usually present in volume. In fact, so ingrained was a radical repudiation of transubstantiation in these parts that when Lutheranism appeared on the scene and made a bid for the Dutch soul it was rejected. Lutheranism was not sufficiently radical in its doctrine of the Sacrament for the "Sacramentarianism" of the Low Countries as it was called. It will be remembered that according to Zwingli's own admission that view of the Sacrament which we have come to associate with Zwingli was a made-in-Holland product.

2 The decree issued by the city authorities says: "Nous avons deffendu et deffendons a tous nos subges et autres, qu'il ne soit aucun ne aucune qui, . . . s'entremette en ledite ville de faire ne jeuer lesdis jeux . . . en quoy soit aucunement traictie dudit mistere du Saint Sacrament ne d'autres choses touchans nostre foy . . . sur encourre es paines . . . a estre mis un mois a pain et a l'iauwe en prison." (Printed, inter alia, by Fredericq in his *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticae Pravitatis Neerlandicae,* Vol. II, p. 195.)

sandwiched among them a prohibition of the plays of the Rhetoricians and the printing thereof.[3]

A vain attempt was made to control this thing by requiring the Chambers to submit their lines for approval before the plays were rendered. The players submitted a text that was quite passable, and then, after permission had been granted, departed freely from the text, improvising to their hearts' content.

The influence of this activity of the Chambers on the Reformation movement is, in the nature of things, difficult to gauge. But it must have been considerable. A contemporary writer who was an ardent Catholic, Renon de France, left a noteworthy description of the state of affairs, painting a very dismal picture. One of the features of this picture is the activity of the Rhetoricians. He speaks of "much deterioration among the clergy, sermons rarely preached, churches poorly frequented, feasts and the fasts badly kept, the sacraments of Penance and of the Eucharist infrequently sought and administered, people in ignorance and not catechized at all in the articles of the faith, mercantile villages full of Germans, Frenchmen and English, schools neglected," and then adds, "numbers of comedians, corrupt in morals and in religion, whom they call rhetoricians, in whom the people delight, and always some poor monk or nun has a place in the comedy. It seems that men are unable to have a good time unless they are mocking God or the church."[4]

One might get the impression from this doleful recital that the plays of the Rhetoricians were frivolous and even sacrilegious, but such was not the case. They were often genuinely evangelical and devout. It must not be forgotten that the northern Renaissance was, unlike its southern counterpart, never irreligious. One of the plays, for instance, the one that caused the greatest amount of Catholic opposition, played in 1539, was on the theme: "What is it that gives a dying man the greatest amount of comfort?" Many of the Chambers (the prize-winning one was among them) answered this as follows: "The greatest comfort to a dying man is a true faith in Christ."

That the activity of the Chambers was of tremendous service to nascent Protestantism may be learned from the report given by an English merchant who was on the scene and had opportunity to see things at close range. Wrote he in 1561 (but speaking of somewhat

3 An edict issued by Emperor Charles V in 1540, for example, prohibits all the works of Luther, Wyclif, and Huss, and then adds in the same breath, "und die Comedien so newlich gespilt sein worden in unser Statt Ghent durch die neunzehn Camern der Rhetoricker." Then follow the titles of more forbidden books.

4 "Nombre de comediens corrumpez ez meurs et religion, que l'on appeloit rhetoriciens, ausquelz le peuple print plaisir; et tousjours quelque moisne ou nonnette avoit part a la comedie. Il sembloit qu'on ne se pouvoit rejouvr sans se mocquer de Dieu ou de l'Eglise." Cf. Charles Piot, *Histoire des Troubles des Pays Bas par Renon de France,* Vol. I, p. 46.

earlier times): "But ther was at thatt tyme syche plays played, that hath cost many a thousand lyves; for in those plays was the worde of God fyrst openyed in thys contrey. Weche plays were and ar forbeden, moche more strettly than any of the boks of Martyn Luter."[5]

Another clue to the importance of the Chambers of Rhetoric for the rise of Protestantism may be seen in the following. Each of the "churches under the cross," as the earliest Reformed churches were called, was known by a fictitious name. The church at Armentières was referred to by the other churches as "Le Bouton"; the one at Rijssel (Lille) was called "La Rose"; the one at Antwerp went by the name of "La Vigne"; the one at Valenciennes was called "L'Aigle"; the one in Ghent was referred to as "Le Glaive," etc. In each instance these were the names which the local Chamber had appropriated earlier!

It is also significant that certain individuals who had been active in the Chambers appear later in the forefront of the Protestant movement. One such was a certain Goris Stockx. Much better known is a man who played an unusually important part in the early Reformed churches, Laurenz Jacobsz Reael. He had been a "rederijker" before he joined the Protestant movement.[6]

Another interesting example of Rhetoricians who went Protestant is that of the Wattepatte family. The sons, Pierre, Philippe, and Jean, as well as the father, Matthieu Wattepatte, were visited by the local Catholic clergy for "having played in a farce played by you, mixed with scandalous propositions against the Christian faith." They were sternly rebuked and warned against a recurrence. A year later they were again taken in hand for the same offence. To make matters still worse the elder Wattepatte left home about Christmas time in 1565; neighbors had it that he and one Creton had gone to France to procure a minister to preach at illicit religious gatherings. And sure enough, the two came back six weeks later with one "Julien," who conducted nocturnal religious services. In the Wattepatte garden one Jehan Cappel read out of heretical books to groups. Pierre Wattepatte reappeared a few years later as an elder in the underground church. He and his father were apprehended and put to death in the awful purges that occurred in the days of Duke Alva. At Pierre's trial it counted against him that he had been a "fray rhetorisier."[7]

5 See Burgon, *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, Vol. 1, p. 376.

6 See Lindeboom, *De Confessioneele Ontwikkeling*, p. 7.

7 For details see van Vloten, *Nederlands Opstand tegen Spanje, bijlage* XII, p. 187. Also Mertens & Torfs, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, Vol. IV, p. 273.

A very similar case of Protestants who had a Rhetorician past was that of Peeter Schuddematte, sentenced in 1547.[8]

In the present connection we are of course interested in the question of whether the Chambers of Rhetoric had anything to do with the rise of Anabaptism. In a way, one would hardly expect it. For the Chambers owed their origin to the rise of Humanism and the northern Renaissance, and Anabaptism was not natively sympathetic toward these; there is a strain of asceticism in Anabaptism that is hard to harmonize with the spirit of Humanism.[9]

And yet there is at least some evidence that Anabaptism also was served by the Chambers of Rhetoric. Of some of its early leaders it is recorded that they had been active in the Chambers before they cast in their lot with Anabaptism. The first to be mentioned is David Joris. David's father was very active in the Chambers, and his son followed in his footsteps. The son's given name was Jan, but because he played the part of King David in one of the plays he came to be known as David Joris.[10]

Another early Anabaptist, whom we would also like to forget because of his notorious career, was Jan Beukelszoon van Leiden. He was an active Rhetorician in his earlier days.[11]

One might get the impression that it was mainly in its black sheep that Anabaptism derived anything from the Chambers. But that conclusion is not warranted. There was at least one leader of excellent reputation who also came from the Rhetoricians to the Anabaptists of the first generation. He was the famous elder Leenaert Bouwens. Of him also we read "dat hij een rederijker hadde geweest."[12] We may safely assume that part of the great speaking ability which this man evinced was due to his experience in the Chambers.

It is at the least evident from all this that some of the leaders of Anabaptism had had earlier tendencies toward dissent. They had for this reason felt drawn to the Chambers of Rhetoric, seeing that they offered something which every Christian worthy of the name must have—an opportunity to declare to men something of the faith that is in him. Partly because the Chambers were throttled to a large extent, these men threw in their lot with nascent Anabaptism. And it is certain that some of their experiences in the Chambers bore fruit in their later Anabaptist lives.

8 Details in *Antwerpsch Kronijkje,* p. 47 (page 45 in second edition). Cf. also *Antwerpsch Archievenblad,* Vol. VIII, pp. 330, 332-338, 346, 347, 364-374.

9 It is indeed true that some of the early leaders of Anabaptism had been under certain humanistic influences. Conrad Grebel for example. But we feel that Lydia Müller's assertion can easily lead to misconception: "In den vom Humanismus berührten Kreisen um Zwingli ist in Zürich im Januar 1525 die Täuferbewegung ins Leben getreten." We feel that Anabaptism by and large derived more from the pre-Reformation ascetic tendencies than from Humanism.

10 See *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkegeschiedenis,* 1945, p. 11 ff.

11 Cf. Knappert, *Hervorming binnen Leiden,* p. 144. 12 Cf. *B.R.N.,* Vol. VII, p. 524.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES, 1958-59

SILAS HERTZLER

A few changes in the schools listed in this statistical study are to be noted for the present school year. The Mennonite School of Nursing, at La Junta, Colorado, is no longer a school for the education of registered nurses, although it does have a one-year course for the training of practical nurses. It is therefore no longer included in the attendance data. The Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, is an expanded Canadian secondary school which enrolls students for grade XII. This grade is work on the college level and therefore it is included in the tabulations. The Steinbach Bible Institute of Steinbach, Manitoba, enrolls a few students for college level Bible work, so it too was added to the group of Mennonite colleges. With these changes the total now is nineteen schools, as compared with eighteen for the previous year. One other significant change is that the Mennonite Biblical Seminary has been moved from Chicago, Illinois, to Elkhart, Indiana.

The names and addresses of the institutions which sent information are as follows:

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 3003 Benham Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana
Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, 4824 East Butler Avenue, Fresno 2, California
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kansas
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg 5, Manitoba
Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 600 Roblin Boulevard, Tuxedo, Winnipeg 9, Manitoba
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Pacific Bible Institute Junior College, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing, 411 South East Second Street, Newton, Kansas
Mennonite Hospital School of Nursing, 804 North East Street, Bloomington, Illinois
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Box 39, Gretna, Manitoba
Mennonite Educational Institute, Clearbrook, British Columbia
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute, 173 Talbot Avenue, Winnipeg 5, Manitoba
Steinbach Bible Institute, Steinbach, Manitoba

Table I summarizes the total attendance in the nineteen institutions. The complete registration for 1958-1959 was 4,866, as contrasted with 4,660 for the year 1957-1958. This is an overall increase of 206 students or nearly 4½ per cent gain over the previous year. Of the 17 schools which reported both years, 6 reported less students in 1958-1959 than in 1957-1958. The loss ranged from 3 students in one school to 82 less in another school. Eleven schools reported increases from as low as one to as high as 60.

Table II organizes the 4,866 students by class level. There are 283 students enrolled in music, art, or in allied areas, who are below college level. Table III shows that 3,710 Mennonite students constitute slightly more than 76 per cent of the total enrollment. The tabulations in Table IV concerning summer attendance continue to be irregular. The increase in 1958 over 1957 was 73. With the continued increase in attendance, though not large, there is a somewhat parallel increase in the number of graduates from the colleges. Thirty more degrees and diplomas were given in 1958 than in 1957. As in the past the B.A. degree is the most popular.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Colleges, 1958-59

School	Graduate Students	College	Not of College Grade	Total	Men	Women
M.B.S.	47	11	—	58	38	20
M.B.B.S.	34	4	—	38	34	4
Goshen	49[1]	1124	4	1177	520	657
Bethel	—	687	75	762	372	390
E.M.C.	18[2]	622	—	640	290	350
Bluffton	9	488	49	546	237	309
Grace	—	331	—	331	144	187
Tabor	—	222	45	267	135	132
M.B.B.C.	3	259[3]	—	262	118	144
Hesston	—	151	27	178	93	85
Canadian	—	77	83[4]	160	77	83
Freeman	—	104	—	104	28	76
Pacific	—	92	—	92	63	29
Bethel Hospital	—	60	—	60	—	60
Bloomington	—	50	—	50	—	50
M.C.I.	—	47	—	47	29	18
M.E.I.	—	45	—	45	23	22
M.B.C.I.	—	33	—	33	18	15
Steinbach	—	16[5]	—	16	9	7
Total	160	4423	283	4866	2228	2638

Table I Footnotes

1 4 part-time seminary students; 4 L. A. graduate students.
2 11 seminary students; 7 L. A. graduate students.
3 125 are extension and evening students.
4 These students do not have senior matriculation.
5 **Prospectus, 1959-60, Steinbach Bible Institute,** p. 16.

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, 1958-1959

School	Graduate	Seniors	Juniors	Soph.	Fresh.	Special Part Time	Summer	Not of College Grade	Total
M.B.S.	47	---	---	---	---	11	---	---	58
M.B.B.S.	34	---	---	---	---	4[14]	---	---	38
Goshen	49	128	176	181	212	284[1]	143	4	1177[2]
Bethel	---	84	74	121	176	138[3]	94	75[4]	762
E.M.C.	18	82	73	104	217	102[5]	44	---	640[6]
Bluffton	9[7]	65	55	84	143	33	108	49[8]	546
Grace	---	34	46	36	139	76[9]	---	---	331
Tabor	---	25	36	53	88	9	11	45[8]	267
M.B.B.C.	3[7]	8	21	42	63	125[10]	---	---	262
Hesston	---	---	11	45	95	---	---	27[11]	178
Canadian	---	8	4	12	32	21	---	83[12]	160
Freeman	---	---	---	23	28	15	38	---	104
Pacific	---	---	9	18	37	28	---	---	92
Bethel Hospital	---	---	22	21	17	---	---	---	60
M.C.I.	---	---	---	---	47	---	---	---	47
Bloomington	---	---	19	12	19	---	---	---	50
M.E.I.	---	---	---	---	45[13]	---	---	---	45
M.B.C.I.	---	---	---	---	33	---	---	---	33
Steinbach	---	---	---	---	16	---	---	---	16
Total	160	434	546	750	1407	846	438	283	4866

TABLE III

Enrollment by Denominations

School	Mennonites			Non-Mennonites			Grand
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Total
M.B.S.	32	18	50	6	2	8	58
M.B.B.S.	18	4	22	16	0	16	38
Goshen	421	511	932	99	146	245	1177
Bethel	284	283	567	88	107	195	762
E.M.C.	276	334	610	14	16	30	640
Bluffton	94	117	211	143	192	335	546
Grace	83	85	168	61	102	163	331
Tabor	117	117	234	18	15	33	267
M.B.B.C.	116	141	257	2	3	5	262
Hesston	91	82	173	2	3	5	178
Canadian	77	83	160	---	---	---	160
Freeman	23	48	71	5	28	33	104
Pacific	34	25	59	29	4	33	92
Bethel Hospital	---	48	48	---	12	12	60
M.C.I.	27	18	45	2	---	2	47
Bloomington	---	10	10	---	40	40	50
M.E.I.	23	22	45	---	---	---	45
M.B.C.I.	18	14	32	---	1	1	33
Steinbach	9	7	16[1]	---	---	---	16
Total	1743	1967	3710	485	671	1156	4866

Table II Footnotes

1 24 correspondence students; 260 special and part-time.
2 97 students in the school of nursing as follows: 16 seniors; 29 juniors; 25 sophomores; 22 freshmen; 5 part-time.
3 38 part-time day students; 100 in extension and evening classes.
4 11 summer students; 64 music and art students.
5 29 part time; 14 evening classes; 23 adult education; 36 correspondence.
6 Of this total 80 are in the undergraduate Bible School.
7 Liberal Arts graduate students.
8 Music and art students.
9 46 part-time; 30 evening classes.
10 Evening students.
11 7 part-time; 16 evening students; 4 correspondence.
12 These students do not have senior matriculation: 5 fourth year; 1 third year; 10 second year; 26 first year; 4 evening students.
13 Grade XIII.
14 Irregular students without a college degree.

Table III Footnotes

1 Assumed that all are Mennonites.

TABLE IV

Summer Session Enrollment, 1958

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	66	249	315
Bethel	72	136	208
Bluffton	50	138	188
Freeman	26	53	79
E.M.C.	26	52	78
Tabor	3	11	14
Bethel Hospital	....	60	60
Bloomington	....	50	50
Total	243	749	992

TABLE V

Degrees Granted and Diplomas Given, 1958

	M.B.S.	M.B.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel	Bluffton	E.M.C.	Tabor	Grace	M.B.B.C.	Canadian	Pacific	Hesston	Bethel Hosp.	Bloomington	Freeman	Total
B.D.	10	7	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
M.R.E.	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Th.B.	..	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	13	..	1	..	..	..	..	18
B.A.	..	..	77	50	14	10	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	185
B.S. in Ed.	..	..	54	2	25	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	93
B.S.	..	..	..	55	28	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	91
B.A. in Bible	..	..	..	..	..	13	..	25	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	44
B.S. in Nurs.	..	..	22	8	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
B.S. in El. Ed.	..	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
B.S. in Ind. Arts	..	..	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
B.S. in Business	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
B.S. in Biology	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Chem.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Home Econ.	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B.S. in Nat. Sc.	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B.S. in Ph. Ed.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.R.E.	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	4	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
B. Chr. Ed.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	7
B. Sacred Mus.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Nursing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	21	18	..	39
Sac. Mus.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
3 Yr. Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
3 Yr. Chr. Ed.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
3 Yr. Mus.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
A.A.	..	12	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	39	..	..	17	77
Jr. Col.	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Jr. Col. Bible	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4
A.A. in Bible	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
2 yr. Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4
1 yr. Normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	4
Bible	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Am. Studies	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4
One Yr. Sec.	..	..	13	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Total	11	7	189	166	67	69	34	46	25	9	12	39	21	18	26	739

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

THE HEGE-HAGEY FAMILY; HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Ernst Correll

Christian Hege's increasing responsibilities for the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* and the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein—to mention only these two—never allowed him to complete his comprehensive European Hege genealogy. He did, however, record an important branch of it. This fundamental study, entitled *Stammbaum der Badischen Linie, 1735-*, he published as Number One of the *Chronik der Familie Hege* (Frankfurt am Main, 1937-). His 1930 article on the Heges had summarized the wide-spread Hege relations in Europe and in parts of North America. On April 7, 1936, largely due to his inspiration, a Hege Reunion took place —presumably the very first one in Europe—at the South German Mennonite Center called Thomashof near Karlsruhe. Nearly one hundred representatives including some from Austria and America assembled. As a result the above publication came about. It was the first number of what was planned to be a family periodical: *Chronik der Familie Hege* (no further installment appeared). The publication, for which Christian Hege signed "verantwortlich für die Schriftleitung and zugleich Verleger," and whose major contributor he was, will remain unique, like many another of his literary products. The *Chronik* describes and makes graphic the Reunion. It also contains photostatic copies of valuable documents as well as *in extenso* reproductions of other sources. Religious remarks and sermons by Ulrich Hege, of Schloss Markt near Augsburg, Bavaria, and Daniel Hege of Durlach, Baden, reflect the guiding spirit of their community over the centuries. The *Chronik* also features a spirited essay by Christian Hege's daughter, Adele, on the deeper meaning of the Hege tradition in which she had been reared; more of this later.

Aargau, a northern Swiss stronghold, once under the direct rule of the Hapsburg castle, has likely been the earliest known ancestral region of the Hegi-Hage family. They were in the stubborn ranks of the "Töuffervölkli" of the Aar Valley at least as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century.

There is only one comprehensive treatment of Aargau Anabaptism. Prepared by the sympathetic Reformed pastor J. Heitz, it is available in the *Taschenbuch der Historischen Gesellschaft des Kantons Aargau für das Jahr 1902*. The classic work of another Swiss Reformed minister, Ernst Müller, *Die Berner Täufer* (1895), had opened up entirely new vistas. In recent times the study of the cultural history of the broader Anabaptist territory covering the Aargau in particular has been supported by the meticulous research of Dr. Hektor Ammann as well as by Dr. W. Pfister in the juridical field. Such and other coverage by specialist treatments have long required a revision of Heiz.

Swiss places connected with the Hege family emigration to new homes continue to provide unsolved issues whose full answers (achieved for other Anabaptist families) still await investigation. The Review has on several occasions published contentions of enthusiastic private scholars whose imagination furnished a more or less helpful degree of new directions. Some of these were originated by way of a family tradition, the authenticity of which rests on recollections by one or the other ancestor of historic distinction.

I have often benefited, for instance, by the critical observations and leads offered by Martin H. Brackbill of New Cumberland, Pennsylvania. His forebear, Benedikt Brechbiehl (born at Trachselwald, Berne, in 1665), served as the trusted leader of his Anabaptist brethren in the troublesome early 1700's. He was their liaison with the Dutch Mennonite "Fonds voor Buitenlandsche Nooden." With Hans Ramseier and Uli Bauer, he conferred with King Frederick I of Prussia about opportunities for settlement in Eastern Europe. M. H. Brackbill's views were published in the *Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society* and several of his communications in the REVIEW (1948, 1952, and 1953) relate to Zürich and/or Berne origins of the Palatine Mennonites. His interpretation of the relation of Franconia and Lancaster settlers and the origins of early 18th century immigrants in Colonial Pennsylvania bear on Hege history.

Present findings suggest that *both* Aargau and the canton of Zürich must be taken as sources of Hege family origin. Since the canton of Berne exercised political power over Aargau, the Heges and others could also have appeared among the so-called "Bernese" Anabaptists and later emigrants. Other Aargauers might have joined their coreligionists in the Zürich territory or during emigration to Alsace or the Palatinate. Since political and religious unrest in Aargau recurred frequently there were repeated emigrations of Anabaptists from that region. Many of them also followed the Hutterite missionaries to their Moravian communal settlement.

Dr. Calvin Kephart, formerly of Washington, D.C., has also made suggestions as to Mennonite origins with reference to European and Pennsylvania developments. He likewise descends from a significant American Mennonite background: John Kephart (1751-1822), leader of the Doylestown and Deep Run groups. (See Kephart's biography of John in *MQR,* April 1928.) Kephart referred indirectly to Hege relations in dealing with the Swiss and Pennsylvania German ancestry of Herbert Hoover (Huber), thirty-first president of the United States, in a section of Edwin Emerson's *Hoover and His Times* (Garden City, N.Y., 1932). In touch with data then available (including those on Palatine emigration such as of Prof. Daniel Haeberle of Heidelberg), Kephart's presentation calls for additional checks apt to bring new finds. Aargau origins are clearly present in references to Lenzburg and Oberkulm, well-known home locations of Anabaptist emigrants. Kephart even makes an attempt to suggest the mode of transportation from the Aargau to the Palatinate: "in a boat or on a raft down the rivers Wynen, Aar, and Rhine." This also calls for further checks. The *Historischer Atlas der Schweiz* edited by Hektor Ammann and K. Schieb (Aarau, 1951) furnishes opportunities which have not been made available hitherto in such measure and quality. At the same time the scope of research on the Palatinate has been considerably expanded through the efforts of Dr. Fritz Braun and his Heimatstelle Kaiserslautern. Its *Schriften zur Wanderungsgeschichte der Pfälzer* are of primary importance.

Few family histories offer useful documentary materials. There is, however, one history relevant to our subject, Henry G. Reist's *Peter Reist of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and Some of his Descendants* (Schenectady, N.Y., 1933). This small but very well prepared work was brought to my attention only last fall by Donald Reist, Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale. It contains in photostat a one-page "Fürweiser," a Laissez-Passer for Peter Reist, dated October 15, 1723, and issued at

Trachselwald in the Emmenthal. The Fürweiser suggests the availability of similar sources and possibly centrally maintained registers in Switzerland. The preprinted format calls for personal data. It implies administrative arrangements (Pass and Repass) regarding public health requirements. Threat of plague infection is indicated on the printed portion. What is not too clear in the Reist Laissez-Passer has been substantiated by specifications which Dr. Reist, the distinguished author, offers, supported by Bernese archival materials. Obviously Peter had an *emigré* status to which certain privileges were attached. The Bern dispensations at that time honored private property claims of the expelled Anabaptists, although penalty fees were imposed. Apparently they could travel back and forth with little hindrance. Noteworthy also is the fact that the Fürweiser carries the notification *vu passé,* Montbéliard, November 27, 1723. This relates to the Württemberg principality of Mompelgard (Montbéliard) in France, which enclave served, in a measure, as a haven of refuge. See *Recherches Historiques sur les Anabaptists de l'Ancienne Principauté de Montbéliard, d'Alsace et des Regions voisines* by the Lutheran pastor Ch. Mathiot (Belfort, 1922), a well ordered monograph which inquirers, genealogical or otherwise, cannot afford to miss. Succeeding studies by Pierre Sommer, John H. Yoder, and others, reflected in appropriate articles in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* must also be consulted. Local historians of late have given close attention to rich sources which bear intimately on our topic. Roger Boigeol presented a substantial work on Anabaptists and Mennonites in the Belfort territory and beyond in the *Bulletin de la Societé Belfortaine d'Emulation,* 1958, pp. 13-52. It is part of a larger history of Protestantism in that region. (See also Fritz Hausler, *Das Emmenthal im Staate Bern bis 1789*—including the districts of Burgdorf, Trachselwald, Signau, Brandis, Sumiswald—Bern, 1958.)

The question whether the Heges in Alsace, in the Palatinate regions, and in the American colonies, descend exclusively from the Aargau (or are also traceable to Zürich territory) is not settled. The impression remains, however, that Aargau provenance prevails for the majority of this particular name.

The earliest known reference to a Zürich Anabaptist Hagi is that of an index item for 1616: "H. ob'm Hirzel Hägi," in Cornelius Bergmann's *Täuferbewegung im Kanton Zürich bis 1660* (Leipzig, 1916). Although the latter gives no further information, the document quoted there seems to leave no doubt. If I am correct in my conclusion from a passage in L. von Muralt's article "Grüningen" in the *Lexikon,* "H. ob'm Hirzel Hägi" was one of three Anabaptists who were sentenced to serve as galley-slave oarsmen for a period of six years beginning August 29, 1616. An American expert on the *Corps des Galères,* Prof. Paul W. Bamford, University of Minnesota, has recently opened up sources which will initiate entirely novel inquiries into Anabaptist-Mennonite impressments. See his essay on "The Procurement of Oarsmen for French Galleys" for the period 1660-1748, which refers to religious nonconformists, *The American Historical Review,* October 1959, pp. 31-48.

Rudolf Hagi from Knonauer (Vogtei) Amt in the Zürich territory is listed in the *Warhaffter Bericht von den Brüdern im Schweitzerland, in dem Zürcher Gebiet, wegen der Trübsalen welche uber sie ergangen seyn um des Evangeliums willen, von dem 1635sten bis in das 1645ste Jahr.* The Generallandesarchiv at Karlsruhe, Germany, lists a Rudolf Hagi or Hegi in 1661. In or after 1655 he had settled in Dühren, near Heidelberg,

in the county of Sinsheim, then under the jurisdiction of the Venningen lordship. Possibly this Rudolf is identical with or related to the above Rudolf Hagi from the Knonauer Amt.

Martin Maylin (Meili) is mentioned in the Karlsruhe lists for 1661 together with Rudolf Hagi, and both are referred to as living in Dühren as "Hofleute," that is within baronial jurisdiction and not subject to the Palatinate government. Maylin was perhaps the Swiss "reporter" whom Thieleman Jansz van Braght names as one of the sources for his *Martyrs' Mirror* account of the persecution in the Zürich territory in 1658. Maylin and Hegi of Dühren were among the fifty-three Anabaptists arrested by Palatinate officials in near-by Steinfurt in the spring of 1661 as they were about to open an evening worship ("Mann, Weib und Kind als sie eben zu singen angefangen"). During interrogation they stated that about five or six years earlier they had come to this region following their expulsion from the canton of Bern. (See Hege's article "Dühren," *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*)

When reviewing my Hege history references in 1952, I thought the most up-to-date printed information was in the pertinent articles in the *Lexikon* (1930), in Daniel Kauffman's *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1937), and Christian Hege's *Chronik der Familie Hege* (also 1937). Incidental notes I had gathered over the years related to a few unexplored but perhaps new directions. An American angle of approach at times helps to solve still unsettled European relationships. One of the points in the Hege family article in the *Lexikon* made me look for the *Genealogical Register of the Male and Female Descendants of Hans Hege . . . ,* published at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1859, and for the similar title and style descriptive of *Descendants of John Jacob Schnebele, now Snively, and also of male and female Descendants of Samuel Bechtel . . .* (Chambersburg, 1858), which H. S. Bender's *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* marks as apparently the first Mennonite genealogy published in America. Containing close affinities to an identical Swiss background as they do, these titles had intrigued me for some time.

Christian Hege's *Chronik* discussed the *Genealogical Register* based on Hans Hege. who in 1727 came to the Colonies from "Eberstenhof." The *Chronik* shows that Obersthof (popularly "Eberstenhof"), near Zweibrücken in the Palatinate, was also known as Offweilerhof. It should be noted that Hans, the earliest known Hege immigrant to America, belonged to that new wave of Swiss-Palatine Mennonite emigrants which began to surge in the very year 1727 and within five years brought over 3,000 to the Colonies through Rotterdam.

A presumption relates this Hans Hege of 1727 to a nineteenth century immigrant Daniel Hege (born 1826 near Grünstadt, Palatinate) suggesting that Daniel (who came to America in 1851) may even have had a hand in the development of the 1859 *Register.* Daniel was among the Palatines who had received formal training for religious leadership first in Switzerland and later in Missouri. He had served as minister in pioneer Illinois in the Summerfield congregation, which was largely composed of former Palatine Mennonites. (See Dr. Harry F. Weber's *Centennial History of the Mennonites of Illinois, 1829-1929,* Goshen, 1931.) Daniel's guiding spirit was co-responsible in the formation of the "General Conference of Mennonites of North America" which began in 1859. As its first secretary he helped tto awaken an interest in home and foreign missions, also in what is believed to have been the first American Men-

nonite higher school at Wadsworth, Ohio. A recognized leader, he was, as Christian Hege put it, "der erste Reiseprediger der Mennoniten in Amerika," not exactly in the circuit-rider sense but primarily as a field representative for the planned theological school at Wadsworth. He died in 1862 in the midst of his work as a solicitor for the General Conference.

Failure to locate the Chambersburg items in the Library of Congress made me look up the anglicized forms Hagey, etc., and instantly I ran into this amazing entry: *The Hagey Families in America and the Dulaney Family by King Albert Hagey, A. M., Litt. D. and William Anderson Hagey, B. S.* (The King Printing Company, Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia, 1951). The Dulaney section relates the Irish family history of the wife of Professor K. A. Hagey and mother of Wm. A., the junior author. The major portion of the book (535 pages) constitutes "The Genealogy of the Hagey Families in America, incl. Hage, Hege, Heagy, Heagey, Hagee, Hagy, Hagey, Hagie." It is truly a magnificent volume, a dwarfing contrast to the small 1859 *Hege Genealogical Register.* One is overwhelmed by its handling of family annals so complex and difficult by the very variability of the name. The volume reflects also a keen sense for the "significant" in both documentation and illustration.

The comprehensive American Hagey work of 1951 and Christian Hege's *Chronik der Familie Hege* of 1937 brought nostalgic memories back to me. I found myself transposed to the dear Hege home in the old Rothschild Allee location in Frankfurt—long before the name of the street was so annoyingly changed to "Karolinger Allee." More than thirty years of time and distance disappeared. I felt as if I was privileged again to bring fresh finds into the sphere of our freely shared interests. We would sit around the table and concentrate on this American discovery. I could hear Christian Hege's short, precise remarks, see him inspect the documents, etc., I could watch him rise and turn to the shelf on the desk near the window reaching for some of his precious, mostly handwritten, reference books. While preparing to note a few citations and thereby, as usual, initiate supplementary (if not new) entries for the *Lexikon,* Mother Hege and Adele would pay closer attention to some of the special things such as the coat-of-arms in front of the Hagey volume. Both would observe with emphasis that the feudal paraphernalia of these insignia could hardly have been the aspiration of our "Töuffervölkli" forefathers. But beyond dispute are the startling likenesses between several of the American Hagey photographs and those of the Heges far across the ocean. Impressive, however, as these "reflected" qualities of appearance are, they do not fill in the lacunae of the origin of the Anabaptist Aargau Hege clan. Widespread kinship resemblances are found also among other Anabaptist-Mennonite descendants. The Hege phenomenon is noted in the *Chronik* in an unusual side-remark: a chance meeting with some unknown person from Zürich whose astounding Hege features could promptly be documented by tracing descent way back to a common Hege ancestor.

My Hege notes also reminded me of an unusual bit of evidence which more readily would concern bibliophiles. This was an entry in the February 1944 issue of the *American-German Review* by the Librarian of the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) about one of their "most important" acquisitions, namely "the first edition of one of the most famous Mennonite books": *Güldene Aepfell in Silbern Schalen, oder schöne und nützliche Worte and Wahrheiten zur Gottseligkeit . . . 1702."* Robert Friedmann's *Mennonite Piety Through the Cen-*

turies, Its Genius and Its Literature (Goshen, 1949) gives full attention to this devotional book, which carries forward the pristine spirit of Anabaptist dedication and martyrdom. Testimonials, epistles, hymns and prayers accompanied the refugee emigrants overseas. An American edition of the *Güldene Aepfell* of 1745, as H. S. Bender shows, became the first Mennonite product of the Cloister Press at Ephrata, Pennsylvania.

The Schurz Foundation copy of this guide for Christian discipleship has fly-leaf inscriptions which relate it to the Hege-Hagey family. Here is the first one: "Anno 1711 hab ich das büchlein gekauft und betzald vor 6 batzen—dies büchlein gehört mier Katrina Hägen." "Zuhör büchlein, was dun ich dier sagen, Kombd Einer und wil dich hinwegdragen so sprich; las mich ligen in guder Ruh, ich gehör der Katdrina Hägen zu."

Then follow in chronological order, to wit: "Disses buch gehöret Mir Mathes Schweitzer und meiner Hausfrau Anna Katrina, Anno 1727." "Diese Buch gehört Mir Barbara Sternerin (Steinerin?) in Coventry und hab es gekauft von meines Vatters guth in der teilung und neu binden lassen im Jahr 1791." "Nun gehört diese Buch David und Maria Reinhart 1802." "Catharine Pfowtz, her Book January 12th, 1852."

Not able to identify the original purchaser of the *Güldene Aepfell,* I turned to my well-informed friend Dr. Albert H. Gerberich of Parkesburg, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., specialist in Colonial genealogy and local history. His widely known *Brenneman History* (Scottdale, 1938) has all the earmarks of a professional historical study. One of the unique features of Gerberich's 1217 page volume is that it contains several full-length lineages of Swiss-Palatine Mennonite families.

When presented with my meagre data, Gerberich's acute knowledge of eastern localities immediately spotted Coventry as an "Old Mennonite" settlement and congregation in Chester County, Pennsylvania. He thereby fixed the home and religious environment of Barbara "Sternerin" (more likely Steinerin), who had purchased the book from her father's estate and had it rebound in 1791. According to the detailed article "Coventry" in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* the first meetinghouse was erected about 1753 (closed in 1914). The adjoining cemetery holds the remains of early settlers whose names fall readily into the Hegi-Hege-Hagey cast, e.g. Bär, Bechtel, Hoch.

Gerberich also identified "Mathes Schweitzer," whose clear signature appears in the Strassburger-Hinke Facsimile volume among "Palatines imported in the ship Friendship of Bristoll" from Rotterdam "who hereunto sett their Names the 16th day of October 1727." Finally Gerberich discovered David Reinhard in the first (1790) Census of the United States. The Reinhard family were then still at Coventry. Gerberich also rendered an important correction for the final line of the inscription which authentically changed the misread "Catharina Pfovter" to Pfoutz ("her Book January 12, 1852"). These findings carry some weight. The names of the companions of Mathes Schweitzer in the 1727 passenger list show him in the midst of a group of Swiss Mennonites. In customary fashion, however, the clerk's transcriptions of the same date were nearly all anglicized such as Mathes to "Matthew Swizer."

"Katdrina Hagen" who bought the *Güldene Aepfel* in 1711 remains unidentified but has now been brought into closer genealogical range. It is quite certain that Katdrina and her precious book belong to the generation which Christian Hege and K. A. Hagey had known to be the earliest of the Hegi-Hege emigrants to the American colonies. Also there are clear indications of the Swiss-Aargau origin of most of the names relating

to "Katdrina Hagen" and the transmission of her devotional book. Indeed, next to the impressive plate from the 1580 Froschauer Bible now in the Hagey volume, no other illustration could have been more genuine than plates from Katdrina Hagen's *Güldene Aepfell in Silbern Schalen* inscribed by her in 1711. Its deposit in the Library of the Carl Schurz Foundation makes it there one of the pious documents of Colonial Pennsylvania culture and its heritage.

Adele Hege's moving essay "Ueber unseren Familiennamen, Erbe und Forderung," which her father included in the 1937 *Chronik* takes *hegen* and *pflegen,* meaning "to look out for," to protect, to cultivate, as the symbolic etymon of the name. In her childhood Adele had become aware of the single expression "Hege!" put on forest warning notices. The imperatives "hege!" and "pflege!" suggested to young Adele interpretations of what she had heard and observed in "meetings" where she and her parents listened to their preacher uncles and cousins. The Heges, Fellmanns, Landeses, Lichtis and other "Diener am Wort" had not only been men of respected piety but also examples of agricultural proficiency. Religious dedication and caring faithfulness in the Mennonite rural habitat suggested to Adele both a reflection and an application of the inner meaning of the name Hege. Actually her ideas were addressed to the first Hege reunion in 1936. It was held at Thomashof, known as Mennonitisches Bibelheim, located in the old Margravate of Baden-Durlach adjoining Kraichgau and the Palatinate. Many of the Hege and Hege-related emigrants who figure in the *Hagey Family History* came from that region. As one looks into the stately Hege-Hagey family tree, into its European and American branches, Adele's family lore receives a new slant. It seems to match equally the decorum of *The Hagey Families in America* as recorded by King Albert and William Anderson Hagey.

The Hagey Families in America (1951) covers the genealogical evolution of fourteen progenitors listed as "Immigrants" #I, II, II, etc. Corresponding chapters deal with each immigrant's family, including current generations. Unusual supporting materials *in extenso,* such as last wills and testaments, illustrate most of the chapters. The following are notations including proven Anabaptist-Mennonites among the emigrant progenitors, quoted from the volume. No attempt has been made to correct citations except for supplementary suggestions in parentheses.

I - Hans Hage, "member of that large body of persecuted Christians of Berne and Schaffhausen, Switzerland, who about 1672 took up their abode in Alsace, above Strassburg . . . where he remained until 1709. In that year he, in the company of Madame Ferrée and other Huguenots, Swiss and German, took passage . . ." reportedly sailing from London, and reaching New York late in 1709 or 1710. (*Note:* Judge Charles Israel Landis' "Madame Mary Ferrée and the Huguenots of Lancaster County" in the 1917 volume of Papers Read Before the Lancaster County Historical Society contains nothing specific about this.) Hans Hege, according to the Hagey book, settled "first in the Huguenot colony at Esopus, now Kingston, on the west bank of Hudson River, . . . later at Wicacoa in the vicinity of Philadelphia [now South Philadelphia], finally in Pequea Valley." (*Note:* Hans Hage—also Hege, Hegi, etc.—who died in Philadelphia in 1741 (his will was signed in German script) presumably came to Pennsylvania prior to 1727 as a resident of Philadelphia County, is not classified as one of the immigrants.)

II - Hans Hege "emigrated to the American colonies in 1727 from the canton of Schaffhausen, near Zweibrücken at Eberstenhoff." (See correc-

tions above.) The Hagey book states that he brought the 1580 Froschauer Bible to America. This second immigrant settled in Germantown, moving later to near Manheim, Pennsylvania. (*Note:* Reference to "Anna Katharina Wolfhart from Dühren, Germany, November 10, 1663" deserves clarification in the light of other aspects of the Dühren region shown in Christian Hege's *Chronik der Familie Hege.*)

III - Johann Hage and two sons, Johann Jakob and Hans Georg (Hans Jergi), "emigrated from Northern Switzerland" and landed in Philadelphia on September 30, 1732. Hans Georg Hage, b. *ca.* 1695 in Switzerland, died in Rowan County, North Carolina. It would be of interest to look into a possible connection between him and Hans Michel Pfautz' son-in-law Andreas Huber who settled on the Uwharie River in North Carolina in 1762. (For further information, see Wm. H. Gehrke, "Beginnings of the German Element in Rowan and Cabarrus Counties, North Carolina," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* October 1934.) Johann Jakob Hege, b. *ca.* 1698 in Switzerland, died intestate in 1758, in Elizabeth Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He had operated a forge near Elizabeth, owned by the well-known glazier "Baron Stiegel." He had Lutheran and Reformed Church connections.

IV - Johann Balthaser Hege, 1714-1785, b. near Brackenheim, Württemberg, emigrated and settled in Moravian surroundings in Pennsylvania. Apparently no Anabaptist-Mennonite connections.

V - Hans Jacob Hage, b. September 23, 1721, emigrated from Northern Switzerland, left Rotterdam on the "Phoenix" and reached Philadelphia on September 25, 1751. He was a skilled paper-maker in his native land (Aargau?), and became active at his trade near Philadelphia. (*Note:* My Hege references contain the following information received from Librarian Edward W. Hocker, Germantown Historical Society, author of *Settlers of Pennsylvania and Adjacent Territory* taken from advertisements in German newspapers published in Philadelphia and Germantown, 1743-1800: "Jacob Haege (Hagy) paper-maker near Germantown advertises that two of his servants ran away incl. a German 17 years old, John Lantzel, Nov. 1, 1751.") See also Anita L. Eyster, *Notices by German and Swiss settlers in German newspapers—Pennsylvania-German Folklore Society, Vol. III.* Additional data are available in F. K. Huttig, *Pfälzer Auswanderung nach Ost- und Mitteleuropa,* Marburg, 1958, as reviewed in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* 1959.

VI - Noah Hage "emigrated from Württemberg," left Rotterdam in the "Henrietta," and arrived in Philadelphia on October 22, 1754. He settled in Strasburg Township, Lancaster County. According to Dr. Gerberich he served as a private in the Revolution in Captain Smyth's Company of the Lancaster County Militia (Pennsylvania Archive, V, 7, 33). Buried in the Brackbill and Neff Mennonite graveyard in 1795. Marriage connections were with the Herrs and Kendigs.

VII - Johann Gottfried Hage, b. Esslingen, Württemberg, in 1747. Had Moravian connections. He developed a large mercantile establishment in Philadelphia after 1766.

VIII - "Hans Jacob Hage and Daniel Hage, sons of Andrew Hage," who was a "native of Southern Switzerland, molested by the state, migrated with others to Saxony," where he died. "Hans Jacob Hege, b. 1749 (near Neustadt, Saxony), married Elizabeth Stump," "emigrated with brother Daniel and sister Catharina Hage, landed in Philadelphia on October 29, 1767." Daniel (1746-1839) married Maria Oberholtzer Hackmann "born near Neustadt, Saxony." Buried in the Franconia Mennonite

cemetery. Catharina married "—— Meyer or Meier." All of them were members of the Mennonite Church. (*Note:* The number VIII emigrant group from Neustadt, Saxony," or "near Neustadt" appears to be the only seriously dubious record in the Hagey volume. "Saxony," it seems to me, can only be a confused reference. There were no known immigrations to or emigrations from Saxony by Mennonites. More likely, the place is actually Neustadt an der Haardt, today Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, in the Rhenish Palatinate, "near Neustadt" suggests the Branchweiler (Spital) Hof, an important Hege center and known exit-place of Mennonite emigrants. (See Christian Hege, *Familienchronik.*) It should not be difficult to correct the mistaken geographical data and put Hans Jacob, Daniel, and Catharine Hage into their proper genealogical niche.

Quite revealing is the clock-making occupation of Hans Jacob Hage and others in his group. In Neustadt and elsewhere in that region, highly reputed Mennonite clock and watchmakers were known for some time. The skilled watchmakers among the Swiss Anabaptists seem to have been of Bernese (Aargau?) origin. Best known and perhaps the master-teacher of Hans Jacob and/or Daniel was Jakob Möllinger, b. Dühren in 1695, d. in 1763 at Neustadt (Palatinate). The *Lexikon* refers to his clock-making shop in Neustadt as among the most important ones in all Germany. One of his sons, Johannes M., was appointed "Court Clockmaker" to the nearby Count of Wartenberg's residence. For a summary of these and related achievements among Mennonites in general, see Cornelius Krahn's article "Clocks," *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Volume I.

Even if we should assume that no certain place of origin had been indicated for "Immigrant VIII," the Christian names as well as the clock-making tradition would have suggested Neustadt in the Palatinate and Branchweiler- or Spital-Hof as the place of origin. It seems likely that genealogists working on the somewhat fractured Palatinate line will complete this particular record. One of the distinguished achievements of Christian Hege's contributions to the 1937 *Chronik* was his almost faultless reconstruction of the "Baden Line" with Ulrich Hege (*ca.* 1735-1795) and Elizabeth Binkele as its progenitors in Eppelheim near Heidelberg. The evidence chronologically brought up to November 15, 1937, had long before that date been anticipated as a basis for substantiation of the link between the Swiss-Palatinate line and that of "Baden." Our major problem is still Daniel Hege (1640-1720) of Branchweiler- or Spital-Hof (near Neustadt a.d.H.), the earlier known progenitor and the presumed common Anabaptist ancestor supposedly from the Swiss Aargau.

John Gearhard Hagey, born in 1799 in Lower Salford Township (d. Philadelphia, 1885) developed the family skill of clock-making as did two of his brothers, and continued it into the 1850's when local craftshop manufacture succumbed to low cost New England factory products. Jacob, son of Hans Jacob Hage, continued in this art. Among the many books and papers dealing especially with the Pennsylvania clock- and watch-making art only two can be mentioned: Carl W. Drepperd, *American Clocks and Clock-makers* (Garden City, N.Y. 1947) and George H. Eckhardt, *Pennsylvania Clocks and Clockmakers* (N.Y. 1955). (*Note:* Anna Hagey, daughter of Hans Jacob, married John Swartley, b. 1754 in Eppingen, Baden, the base of the Baden Oberbiegelhof Hege lineage, Christian Hege's family. Note also that Daniel Hagey, b. 1784, son of Hans Jacob, moved in 1822 to Preston, Waterloo County, Ontario, as did the descendants of Catharina Hage. That movement included the names Clemmer, Bergey, Becker. A "Hagey" church (now called Preston) and a

"Hagey" cemetery were located near Preston, Ontario, where Joseph Hagey was a Mennonite bishop. See A. G. Seyfart, "Migration of Lancaster County Mennonites to Waterloo County, Ontario, 1800-1825," *Lancaster County Historical Society XXX.*)

IX - John E. Hagey, b. Strasbourg, Alsace, 1748, became "one of the eleven chosen companions" of the Marquis de Lafayette, and joined him in the American Revolutionary War. In America he belonged to the Methodist denomination.

X - Hother Hage, b. 1800 Copenhagen, Denmark, was a civil engineer. He had no known Mennonite origin. In 1849, however, he married Mary A. Kendig, a direct descendant of Hans Herr (1639-1725), first Mennonite bishop in the Lancaster region.

XI - Friedrich Hage, b. in Switzerland, moved to Karlskron, 10 miles from Munich; served in the army of Napoleon as assistant (to?) surgeon. Married Varona Asche (or Esch). In 1824 he came to America, first to Germantown, later to Millersburg, Ohio. He became an Amish bishop. His son Samuel (1830-1895), who migrated to Henry County, Iowa, broke with the Amish community there on the issue of cultural restrictions, joined the Miller and Eicher factions and helped to establish the Eicher General Conference Mennonite Church near Wayland, Iowa. (See Melvin Gingerich, *The Mennonites in Iowa,* 1939.)

XII - Samuel Hagy married Marian Magley (Nagley?) in Switzerland (Niederbipp, canton of Berne), came to America about 1825, settled in Etna Township, Licking County, Ohio. Their son, Samuel Hagy, was born in Switzerland.

XIII - Francis Hagey, son of Heinrich H. (ancestors from Switzerland), moved to Westphalia, married Catharina Berkemeyer. Francis was born in 1828, came to America in 1852, died in 1912 near Manheim, Pennsylvania. He was married to Lydia Royer (b. 1833, daughter of David Royer and Catharine Eby).

XIV - Henry Hagi and Jacob Hagi were born in the canton of Berne, went to America in 1868, and settled in Illinois. They were members of the Lutheran and United Brethren churches.

MENNONITISCHES LEXIKON DISTRIBUTION IN AMERICA

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When the publication of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* was begun in 1913, H. P. Krehbiel of North Newton, Kansas, arranged with the editors, Christian Hege and Christian Neff, to act as American distributor. Krehbiel not only solicited orders for the *Lexikon* but also contributed considerable editorial work, including such articles as the one entitled "Allgemeine Konferenz der Mennoniten in Nord-Amerika." The Krehbiel files in the Bethel College Historical Library indicate that he was able to give considerable editorial assistance to Hege and Neff.

During the first World War communications became difficult; however, orders for the *Lexikon* continued to be received until the names of 347 subscribers were entered. Assisting in the solicitation of subscriptions was H. H. Ewert of Gretna, Manitoba. The Krehbiel files show that a regular quota of 250 copies of each installment was received. Many subscribers, however, lost interest and did not continue their payments.

In order to revive the *Lexikon* project after World War I, it was arranged in 1921 that those who would pay $10 immediately would receive the thirty installments bound in two volumes. It was assumed that this would be the complete edition. In 1939 the bound volumes were received and, as far as possible, delivered to subscribers.

In 1926 the General Conference of Mennonite Churches of North America made a small cash conrtibution to this work. After the General Conference session at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, in 1938, Krehbiel was requested to continue as American distributor of the *Lexikon*. Letters received by Krehbiel in November 1939 indicate that Neff had just retired and that Hege hoped that the *Lexikon* would be completed with the third volume. Hege pointed out that the original subscription price of 18¢ per installment was to be discontinued, and future installments were to be 30¢. The third volume was to sell for $10. Hege also indicated that a deficit of some $400 was incurred in publishing each installment of the *Lexikon*.

The project had been begun as a private venture and before World War II was never seriously supported by any American Mennonite conference. Some suspicion of European theological liberalism, deep involvement of conferences in other financial commitments, and the language transition from German to English in the years from 1913 to 1939 all conspired to reduce interest in the *Lexikon*.

Mr. Krehbiel's list of original subscribers, with addresses and alphabetically arranged by states, is presented herewith. Following this is Krehbiel's list of those who paid $10 each in 1921.

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The original editors and publishers of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* the late Christian Hege and Christian Neff, were able to publish six instalments (288 pp.) of Volume III before the vicissitudes of World War II brought their great enterprise to a halt in 1942. Hege died in 1943 and Neff in 1946, leaving behind them one further instalment in proof and some three-fourths of the manuscripts for the remainder of the articles for what was originally intended to be a 15-instalment third volume. The somewhat shortened third volume (12 instalments, 582 pp. only) which now lies before us contains six further instalments edited by Dr. Ernst Crous of Göttingen assisted by his wife Rose, supported by an American editor whose assistance was largely in the field of counselling and furnishing articles from the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* of which he was the editor. For this second half of III the editors were only editors and not publishers. Publication was the responsibility of a Publishing Committee appointed by the two German Mennonite conferences (Vereinigung der Deutschen Mennonitengemeinden and Verband Badisch-Württembergisch-Bayrischer Mennonitengemeinden) which also included a representative of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia.* Editor Crous was appointed by this committee, while editor Bender had been appointed by Christian Neff in 1946 before his death, and was confirmed by the committee. The *Encyclopedia* rendered some financial assistance in exchange for the privilege of using the entire *Lexikon* material, and in return made all its material available to the *Lexikon.* It was this international co-operation which made possible the resumption of the *Lexikon* at a time when the fortunes of European Mennonitism were low.

A tribute of appreciation is due to Dr. Crous and his wife for their thoroughly competent and deeply devoted labors in bringing Volume III to completion in the years 1948-1958. The manuscripts left by the previous editors were by no means ready for the press, and required much careful additional research and editing to make them usable for the high standards which the Crouses brought to their task. To achieve this in the years of their retirement (Dr. Crous reached 66 in 1948) with limited secretarial assistance and along with many other duties in their wide service to the Mennonite refugees as well as to the Göttingen diaspora congregation which they organized in 1945 and the establishment of the Mennonitische Forschungsstelle in 1948 was a herculean task. They deserve the warmest thanks from Mennonites everywhere for their labor of love for the brotherhood to which they have been so deeply devoted. We can be assured that their work in the *Lexikon* is thoroughly scholarly and of the highest quality.

Volume IV has been placed in the hands of Gerhard Hein, pastor of the Mennonite Church in Berlin, as editor, assisted by H. S. Bender. The instructions of the Publishing Committee are to complete the work in one volume with five double instalments, one appearing each year 1959–1963. The first double instalment of 96 pages now lies before us. It is gratifying to note that the same high stadards of editing are being maintained as those employed by Dr. Crous. Editor Hein has the great advan-

tage of having the completed *Mennonite Encyclopedia* at his disposal, so that his major work is to select the articles to be used, make or supervise the translations and adaptations, and to incorporate the latest results of Anabaptist-Mennonite scholarship. This he is fully competent to do.

It is interesting to compare the *Lexikon* with the *Encyclopedia* for the material covered in the section *Saarburg-Schowalter*. The *Lexikon* has about one-sixth more material, adding 62 articles not found in The *Encyclopedia,* and omitting an equal number. The new articles are mostly short, many of them on villages in the Danzig area and Russia written by Adalbert Goertz, some German family names, and a few biographies of related persons. The omitted *ME* articles are largely those on American congregations and Dutch and American families and biographies. Editor Hein has found new material on a number of Anabaptists, chiefly of Württemberg and Baden (largely based on the Täufer-Akten volumes for these areas). Among these are articles on Michel Schilling, Hans Schmidt, Hans Schoch, Adam Schlegel, and Konrad Scheid. Hein also wrote short articles on Saratov and Schlettstadt, and a longer one on Schleswig-Holstein (replacing one by Krahn). An article by Christian Hege on Anna Salminger, wife of Sigmund S., had somehow escaped the *Encyclopedia* editors. Larger articles were written by Adalbert Goertz on Schönsee-Kulmer Niederung (2,000 words replacing one by van der Zijpp) and Sartowitz-Neuenburger Niederung (1500 words), one on Schleswig by Robert Dollinger, two by Paul Schowalter on the Schowalter family (replacing one by HSB) and on Johann Schiller (1822-1886). The most significant new article is the one on Schleiden in der Eifel by Dr. Crous which incorporates much valuable new material on Anabaptism in this area.

By an oversight no credit is given to the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* for the many articles taken over from it.

Goshen College HAROLD S. BENDER